

U. S. Department of Justice

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FEDERAL BUREAU

of

INVESTIGATION

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FBI Automatic
Declassification Guide,
issued May 24, 2007

Screened by NARA
(RD-F) 12-06-2019 FOIA
53812 DOCID:
B4390841

Bureau File Number

See also Nos.

Serials

Volume Number

100-59308

9-26-04/01

Decl. 8/8/67

SHAW-WALKER 18-28615

FBI

Date: JUL 27 1967

Transmit the following in PLAINTEXT
(Type in plaintext or code)

Via AIRTEL REGISTERED MAIL
(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-447368)
FROM: SAC, NEW YORK (100-160016) (P)
SUBJECT: TRI-CONTINENTAL INFORMATION CENTER (TCIC)
IS - C
(OO: NY)

ReBulet to NY, 6/9/67; NY airtel to Bureau,
6/30/67.

Enclosed for the Bureau are nine copies of an
LHM captioned, "Stockholm Conference on Vietnam," which
was held 7/6 through 7/9/67, Stockholm, Sweden.

- 3 - Bureau (Enc. 9) (RM)
- 1 - Boston (105-14659) (HOMER JACK) (Enc. 1) (RM)
- 4 - Chicago (100-) (CHICAGO PEACE COMMITTEE)
(Enc. 4) (RM)
 - (1 - 100-) (SIDNEY LENS)
 - (1 - 100-40963) (SDS)
 - (1 - 100-) (JACK ONGEMACH)
- 1 - Cleveland (100-) (DR. BENJAMIN SPOCK) (Enc. 1) (RM)
- 2 - Detroit (100-) (DETROIT WOMEN FOR PEACE) (Enc. 2) (RM)
 - (1 - 100-) (REBECCA SHELLEY)
- 5 - Los Angeles (100-) (UNIVERSITY COMMITTEE ON
VIETNAM) (Enc. 5) (RM)
 - (1 - 100-) (SIMON CASADY)
 - (1 - 100-) (UNITARIAN FELLOWSHIP FOR SOCIAL JUSTICE)

Copies Continued

1 - New York (100-160016)

GTT:cjs
(54)

100-51259
Jenkins Jr

See pg 3 + 24
probably
refers to
Jenkins Jr
100-4405

no action
me

100-51259
100

SEARCHED	INDEXED
SERIALIZED	FILED
AUG 3 1967	
FBI - SAN FRANCISCO	

Wineoff

Approved: _____
Special Agent in Charge

Sent _____ M Per _____

Ken Moore
See pg 3 + 24

100-59308-1

NY 100-160016

Copies Continued

5 - Los Angeles (Cont.)
 (1 - 100-) (PROF. ALAN E. FLANNIGAN)
 (1 - 100-) (BARBARA CAROL WESTON)
2 - New Haven (100-) (WORLD FELLOWSHIP, INC.) (Enc. 2) (RM)
 (1 - 100-11259) (LOUIS ZEMEL)
6 - Philadelphia (100-9882) (WILPF) (Enc. 6) (RM)
 (1 - 100-) (AMERICAN FRIENDS SERVICE COMMITTEE)
 (1 - 100-) (KATHERINE L. CAMP)
 (1 - 100-) (DOROTHY HUTCHINSON)
 (1 - 100-) (GEORGE LAKEY)
 (1 - 100-) (CHRISTIN M. VEECH)
1 - New York (100-) (J. HUGH ANWYL)
1 - New York (100-80532) (HERBERT APTHEKER) (#42)
1 - New York (100-157946) (JAMES BEVEL) (#43)
1 - New York (100-159140) (FRANCES BOEHM) (#46)
1 - New York (65-13809) (JOSEPH CROWN)
1 - New York (100-) (ROSE FREEDMAN)
1 - New York (100-) (JOHN H.E. FRIED)
1 - New York (105-42387) (RICHARD GIBSON)
1 - New York (100-54089) (SIDNEY J. GLUCK) (#45)
1 - New York (100-) (MARIA JOLAS)
1 - New York (100-157075) (JOHN MC DERMOTT)
1 - New York (100-133208) (DAVID MC REYNOLDS)
1 - New York (105-85210) (WILLIAM MEYERS) (#33)
1 - New York (100-94163) (JEROME OBERWAGER) (#46)
1 - New York (100-150534) (MARIAN OBERWAGER) (#46)
1 - New York (100-) (S. O'HARROW)
1 - New York (105-46939) (CAROLE PINA) (#45)
1 - New York (100-102290) (REGINA PUSTAN) (#47)
1 - New York (100-) (MARJORIE SCHELL)
1 - New York (100-) (WILLIAM L. STANDARD)
1 - New York (100-145390) (AMY SWERDLOW)
1 - New York (100-156495) (LCAPTV)
1 - New York (100-146684) (WSP)
1 - New York (100-) (STOP IT)
1 - New York (100-) (LONG ISLAND UNITED FOR PEACE)
1 - New York (100-148047) (SDS)
1 - New York (100-140528) (SANE)
1 - New York (100-) (ILWU)
1 - New York (100-149099) (WORLD PEACE COUNCIL)

NY 100-160016

Sufficient copies of this LHM are being furnished interested offices regarding individuals who attended the above-mentioned conference.

For information of those offices not in receipt of the above-referenced NY airtel, the Stockholm Conference on Vietnam was held 7/6 through 7/9/67, at Jungfrugatan 30, Stockholm, Sweden. Investigation conducted by the NYO disclosed that attendance at this conference was strictly on an individual basis and that participants in the conference would leave the US at different times using different modes of travel.

ReBulet instructed as follows re the TCIC:

"Your attention is directed to the organization's Bulletin, Volume One, Number One, dated May, 1967, setting forth information concerning the formation of this organization; information concerning the organization's arranging a fact-finding visit of U.S. observers to Puerto Rico during the period 4/15-20/67; the organization's sponsoring a conference on imperialism in the Caribbean this coming Fall; and the organization's helping to organize U.S. participation in the Stockholm Conference against the war in Vietnam during the period 7/6-9/67.

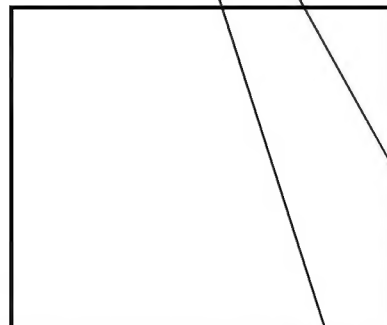
"It is imperative that you fully identify all individuals who will be participating in the Caribbean Conference and the Stockholm Conference. The identities of these individuals together with any subversive background information concerning them should be furnished the Bureau immediately upon determination that they will participate in these conferences in order that such information can be immediately disseminated to the State Department and CIA. Such information should be furnished under instant case caption. Thereafter, you should be governed by Bureau instructions concerning the travel of security subjects abroad as contained in Section 87D of the Manual of Instructions and submit the data required by that Manual Section under the individuals' case captions."

The LHM is classified "Confidential" because it contains information from the below listed sources, the disclosure of which could reasonably result in their identification and thus compromise their future effectiveness which could adversely effect the national defense of the country.

NY 100-160016

The sources utilized in the attached are as follows:

NY T-1
NY T-2
NY T-3
NY T-4
NY T-5
NY T-6
NY T-7
NY T-8



WILLIAM KNAPP, BSS, NYCPD,
(By request)

NY T-9
NY T-10
NY T-11



For information of the Bureau, there is no indication that the Tri-Continental Information Center (TCIC) was officially represented at the Stockholm Conference. It is noted that MIKE MYERSON, Director, TCIC, was scheduled to attend this conference.

Suitable characterizations of individuals and organizations were used in the attached, where available.



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
New York, New York

In Reply, Please Refer to

File No Bufile 100-447368

NY file 100-160016

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JUL 27 1967

Stockholm Conference on Vietnam

Reference is made to New York memorandum dated June 30, 1967, entitled, "Tri-Continental Information Center (TCIC), IS - C."

A characterization of the TCIC is attached hereto.

On July 24, 1967, NY T-1 furnished copies of the proceedings and a list of the participants of the Stockholm Conference on Vietnam, which was held from July 6-9, 1967, at Stockholm, Sweden. This list included the following participants from the United States, characterizations of which follows the name of each individual where available, and/or the organization with which the individual had been identified:

J. Hugh Anwyl

Herbert Aptheker

On June 30, 1966, NY T-2 advised that Herbert Aptheker was elected to the National Committee, Communist Party, United States of America (CP, USA) at the 18th National Convention of the CP, USA held June 22-26, 1966 in New York City.

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Group 1

Excluded from automatic
downgrading and
declassification.

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

Stockholm Conference on Vietnam

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Richard Barnet

Reverend James Bevel (Spring Mobilization)

During March, 1966, NY T-3 advised that during that month James Bevel was at the office of a chapter of the W.E.B. Du Bois Clubs of America (DCA), and in discussion of the notification that the United States Attorney General intended to label the DCA as a Communist front, Bevel stated he would ignore the accusation. He felt the DCA had a program of help for the people. When one of those present stated that he was not a Communist, Bevel replied, "Every thinking American should be. American Negroes have not begun to read yet, but when they do all will be socialists."

A characterization of the DCA is attached hereto.

Frances Boehm (Women Strike For Peace)

Robert Boehm (Lawyers' Committee on American Policy Towards Vietnam)

A characterization of the Lawyers' Committee On American Policy Towards Vietnam is attached hereto.

Katherine L. Camp (Women's International League For Peace and Freedom)

Simon and Mrs. Casady (Chairman, National Conference on New Policies)

Joseph Crown (Lawyers' Committee On American Policy Towards Vietnam)

The February, 1965, issue of "Rights," a publication of the Emergency Civil Liberties Committee (ECLC) lists Joseph H. Crown as a member of the National Council of the ECLC.

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Stockholm Conference on Vietnam

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Characterizations of "Rights" and ECLC
are attached hereto.

Professor Alan E. Flanigan (University Committee
on Vietnam, Los Angeles)

Professor and Mrs. D.F. Fleming

Rose Freedman

Joseph H.E. Fried (Lawyers' Committee on American
Policy Towards Vietnam)

Richard Gibson (Stop It)

Sidney J. Gluck (World Fellowship, Inc.)

A characterization of World Fellowship,
Inc., is attached hereto.

Dorothy Hutchinson (Women's International League
For Peace and Freedom) (WILPF)

On April 15, 1964, NY T-4 provided a WILPF
"Vietnam Packet" prepared by the Literature
Department of the WILPF, United States Section,
2006 Walnut Street, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania.
The "Vietnam Packet" contained items generally
critical of the United States policy in Vietnam
which included a leaflet captioned "Letter on
Cambodia" dated January, 1964, issued by the
WILPF, which is a letter to Secretary of State
Dean Rusk from Dorothy Hutchinson, President,
WILPF, urging, "not victory, but a negotiated
neutralization of North and South Vietnam."

Homer Jack (SANE and ICDP)

David Jenkins (ILWU)

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Maria Jolas (Paris American Committee to
Stop War)

George Lakey (American Friends Service Committee)

Sidney Lens (IFRO and Chicago Peace Committee)

John Mc Dermott (Co-editor, "Viet Report")

On September 24, 1965, NY T-5 advised that a copy of the "Free University (School) of New York, Fall Catalog, 1965" listed among the faculty, John Mc Dermott, Instructor of Philosophy, Long Island University, Brooklyn, New York, and Associate Editor of "Viet Report."

A characterization of the Free School of New York is attached hereto.

David Mc Reynolds (War Resister's International)

On September 7, 1966, NY T-6 advised that David Mc Reynolds, Field Secretary for the War Resisters League, and Gil Green, Chairman of the CP, New York State, were the speakers for a meeting at the New York School for Marxist Studies (NYSMS) on August 31, 1966.

A characterization of the NYSMS is attached hereto.

William Meyers (Lawyers' Committee on American
Policy Towards Vietnam)

Jerome Oberwager (Long Island United For Peace)

On November 24, 1965, NY T-7 advised that one J. Oberwager, 30 Wensley Drive, Great Neck, New York, was a regular financial contributor to the American Institute for Marxist Studies (AIMS), 20 East 30th Street, New York, New York.

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Stockholm Conference on Vietnam

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A characterization of AIMS is attached hereto.

Marian Oberwager (Women Strike For Peace, Great Neck)

On January 16, 1967, NY T-8 advised that one Marian Oberwager, 30 Wensley Drive, Great Neck, New York, witnessed the Independent Nominating Petition of the Peace and Freedom Party on behalf of the candidacy of Herbert Aptheker for member of Congress, 12th C.D., Brooklyn, New York, New York, in the November, 1966, New York City elections.

S. O'Harrow (PACS and ICDP)

Jack Ongemach (Students For a Democratic Society) (SDS)

A characterization of the SDS is attached hereto.

Carole Pina (Stop It)

On June 17, 1965, Judith Anne Warden, 210 West 102nd Street, New York City, identified a photograph of Carole Pina as a person who travelled to Cuba during 1964, sponsored by the Student Committee for Travel to Cuba (SCTC).

A characterization of the SCTC is attached hereto.

Regina Pustan

Marjorie Schell (SANE)

Rebecca Shelley (Peaceways; Observer for Detroit Women For Peace)

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Stockholm Conference on Vietnam

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Dr. and Mrs. Benjamin Spock (SANE)

On November 21, 1963, NY T-9 advised that Dr. Benjamin Spock was in November, 1963, included among a list of sponsors of the National Committee to Abolish the House Un-American Activities Committee (NCAHUAC).

A characterization of the NCAHUAC is attached hereto.

William L. Standard (Lawyers' Committee on American Policy Towards Vietnam)

During 1953, Maurice Malkin, an admitted former member of the CP from 1919 to 1936, advised that during the 1930's one William Louis Standard was a member of the CP.

Amy Swerdlow (also known as Mrs. Stanley Swerdlow)
(Women Strike For Peace)

On June 30, 1966, NY T-10 furnished a document which contained the names of delegates, alternates, Party visitors, non-Party and charter members to the 18th National Convention, CP, USA, held June 22-26, 1966, in New York City, which listed Mr. and Mrs. Stanley Swerdlow as non-Party visitors from Nassau County, New York.

Christin M. Veech (Women's International League For Peace and Freedom)

Barbara Carol Weston (Unitarian Fellowship for Social Justice)

On September 28, 1966, NY T-11 advised that the name of one "B. Carol Weston, 3220 Durand Drive, Los Angeles, Calif. 90028," was contained in a list of persons to be contacted by the

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Stockholm Conference on Vietnam

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Aaron Johnson CP Club of the Moranda Smith Section, Southern California District CP (SCDCP) to attend a fund raising party being sponsored by that CP club on September 17, 1966, at the home of Arvilla Jackson, Aaron Johnson CP Club Chairman, and one of the leading members of the club.

Louis Zemel (World Fellowship, Inc.)

Attached hereto are Xerox copies of the reports of the various commissions and committees which participated in the Stockholm Conference.

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(6 - 9 July, 1967)

LIST OF PARTICIPANTS
LISTE DES PARTICIPANTS
LISTE DER TEILNEHMER
LISTA DE PARTICIPANTES

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~INTERNATIONAL CONFEDERATION FOR DISARMAMENT AND PEACE

LEE, Kenneth (Great Britain) (also representing the Friends
Peace and International Relations
Committee)

BOURDET, Claude (France)

GAGGERO, Andrea (Italy)

DUFF, Peggy (Great Britain)

INTERNATIONAL FELLOWSHIP OF RECONCILIATION

HERZ, Ulrich (Sweden)

WIRMARK, Bo (Sweden)

WORLD COUNCIL OF PEACE

BLUME, Isabelle (Belgium)

CHANDRA, Romesh (India)

LUNDKVIST, Artur (Sweden)

DI CAVALCANTI, Emiliano (Brazil)

MOLODTSOV, Stepan (USSR)

CHOLIERE, Yves (France)

KHAYYAL, Said (UAR)

WAR RESISTERS' INTERNATIONAL

McREYNOLDS, David (USA) (also representing ICDP)

RANDLE, Michael (Great Britain)

CHRISTIAN PEACE CONFERENCE

CHATAGNER, Jacques (France)

CIHAK, Jaroslav (Czechoslovakia)

IHJIMA, Munetaka (Japan)

JACOBY, Irene (Great Britain)

THAMPY, A.K. (India)

TOTH Karoly (Hungary)

SOLOLOWSKY, Pavel S. (USSR)

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BOOTH, Arthur (Great Britain)

RICHARDSON, Nancy (Great Britain)

PAX CHRISTI

Chanoine GOOR, Raymond (Belgium)

Observer

AMNESTY INTERNATIONAL

FRANCK, Hans Göran (Sweden)

Observer

WOMEN'S INTERNATIONAL LEAGUE FOR PEACE AND FREEDOM

CAMP, Katherine L. (USA)

ENCKVIST, Greta (Sweden)

HUTCHINSON, Dorothy (USA)

VEECH, Christin M. (USA)

SCHÄFFER, Eva (Sweden)

WOMEN'S INTERNATIONAL DEMOCRATIC FEDERATION

BANI DA GUPTA (India)

BROWN, Freda (Australia)

PANTALEON, Rosa J. (Argentina)

WORLD FEDERATION OF SCIENTIFIC WORKERS

ROSE, Dr. Steven (Great Britain)

WORLD FEDERATION OF TRADE UNIONS

CERQUEIRA, Benedicto (Brazil)

FORGACS, Pal (Hungary)

PODZERKO, Victor Andréiévitich (USSR)

PORKKALA, Veikko (Finland)

WOMEN STRIKE FOR PEACE

BOEHM, Frances (USA)

SWERDLOW, Amy (USA)

WORLD FEDERATION OF UNITED TOWNS

WEIL-CURIEL, André (France)

INTERNATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF DEMOCRATIC LAWYERS

NORDMAN, Joe (France)

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WORLD FEDERATION OF DEMOCRATIC YOUTH

CHAKRABORTY, S.K. (India)
CHOI CHANG RYOL (Korea)
HERNANDEZ, Alfredo (Argentina)
PETROS, Behnam (Iraq)
SOKOLOWSKI, Gregor (Poland)

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INTERNATIONAL UNION OF STUDENTS

BELLO, Carlos Octavio (Angola)
HUSSAIN, Nouri A.R. (Iraq)

INTERNATIONAL ORGANISATION OF JOURNALISTS

BURES, Oldrich (Czechoslovakia)
ROJEK, Radeusz (Poland)

INTERNATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR LIBERAL CHRISTIANITY AND RELIGIOUS FREEDOM

EVERTS, Philip P. (Netherlands) Observer

BERLIN CONFERENCE OF CATHOLIC CHRISTIANS IN EUROPEAN STATES

BOULIER, Jean (France)
FUCHS, Otto Hartmut (GDR)
GUSKE, Hubertus (GDR)
NIGGEMEIER, Adolf (GDR)
STEFANOWICZ, Janusz (Poland)

SECRETARIAT INTERNATIONALE DE LIAISON DES ASSOCIATIONS EMMAUS

Abbé PIERRE (France) Observer

AFRO-ASIAN PEOPLES' SOLIDARITY ORGANISATION

SAAD EDDIN, Moursi (UAR)
BARROS, Francisco (Angola)
KALIMULLA, M. (India)
ABDEL RAZZAQOV, B. (USSR)
MAKIUANE, M. (South Africa)

ADEN

ABDALLA, M.H. FLOSY
BA AUAD, Ossman FLOSY

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ALGERIA

BENGUETTAT, Adda, M.P. Algerian Peace Movement
BOUMENDJEL, Malika Ali
GHRIEB, Abdelkrim
KHELIFA, Laroussi, M.P.
OUGOUAG, Abdelkader
ZOUAOUI, Mohamed, M.P.

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ARGENTINA

ALMADA, Carlos Argentina Socialist Youth
DEL RIO, Pablo Trade union leader
FREYRE, Felipe Argentine Peace Committee
GIUDICI, Ernesto Argentina Movement for Aid to Vietnam
LOPEZ, Raul Peronist youth movement
MOTTESI, Osvaldo Luis Evangelical priest. Argentine Sponsoring
Commission for the Conference on Vietnam
PENA, Francisco A. Lawyer - Buenos Aires Provincial Sponsoring
Commission
RIVERA, Ricardo Youth leader
ROSSI, Juan José Catholic priest. Argentine Sponsoring Commission
SOSA, Julio Communist Youth Federation
VARELA, Alfredo Argentine Peace Council and Argentine
Movement for Support to Vietnam (MAVIET)
VENERONI, Horacio Argentine Association of Democratic
Lawyers

AUSTRALIA

COLLAN, R.A. A.I.C.D.
ROTHFIELD, Evelyne Congress for International Co-operation
and Disarmament
ROTHFIELD, Norman " "

AUSTRIA

DAIM, Wilfrid Writer
ALTSCHUL, Heinz Austrian Peace Council
KRAMER, Helmut Austrian Action for Peace and Disarmament

BAHREIN

BEN ALI, Seif

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BELGIUM

Père APERS, Roger
BERHIN, Madeleine
Abbé CARETTE, Paul
Abbé CORNEROTTE, André
DELLVIGNE, Marcel

GAYETOT, Jean

HOEBRECHTS, René

HOLENDER, Rosie

KLUTZ, René

LADRIERE, Paul

SALMON, Denis

VERSTAPPEN, Jean

BRAZIL

CAVALCANTI, Emiliano D.

MOURA, Carlos

BURZA, Joao Belline

BULGARIA

DIMITROVA, Blaga

PIRINSKY, George

CAMEROON

NJEM, Claude Bora

CANADA

YANOVSKY, Avrom

CEYLON

ALIF, M.S.

ANGIRARA, Rev. Kurungada

GUNAWARDENE, Vivienne

KALEEL, M.C.

KALPET, Mrs N.R.

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I.R.G. (W.R.I.)

Reconciliation, Belgian Branch

Rencontres Ouvrières

Vice-President, Union Belge pour la
Défense de la Paix

Syndicat de la Fédération générale du
Travail de Belgique (Liège-Huy-Waremme)

Syndicat de la Centrale générale
Services Publics - Liège-Huy-Waremme

Union Belge pour la Défense de la
Paix

"

"

Commission International d'Enquête
sur le Vietnam

"Rencontres ouvrières"

Brazilian Peace Movement

Brazilian Preparatory Committee
for the Vietnam Conference

Brazilian Peace Movement

Bulgarian Peace Committee

"

"

Union des Populations du Kameroun

Canadian Peace Movement

Ceylon Peace Council

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CHILE

ALARCON, Hector Nunez

KIRBERK, Enrique

ERAZO DE KIRBERG, Inés

MALUENDA, Maria

ROJAS, Waldo Iriarte

Chilean Peace Committee

Chilean Committee for the Defence
of Human Life in Vietnam

Union de Mujeres de Chile

Chilean Peace Committee

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CONGO (KINSHASA)

BATUSSA, Kassongo

LUVUALU, Maurice

LICOPA and Congolese Peace Committee

Congolese Peace Committee

CUBA

FRAYLE, Santiago

DIAZ, José Miguel Guerra

SOBRADO, José

Cuban Peace Committee

Central Trade Union of Cuba

Central Trade Union of Cuba

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

MACEK, Josef

KNOBLOCH, Jaroslav

BENES, Josef

MALY, Vaclav

POLACEK, Jiri

VASILJEV, Ivo (expert)

Czechoslovak Peace Committee

DENMARK

BRINCH, Esther

JENSEN, Svend

WAGNER, Ingmar

Danish Peace Conference and

Danish Peace Committee

Jorg-og Betonarb. Fagf.

DHOFAR

ALAWI, Yousef

ECUADOR

PARADES, C.A. Tobar

Writers' Association of Ecuador

FINLAND

von BONSDORFF, Göran

Président du Comité de préparation
de Conférence de Stockholm en Finlande

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

BACKLUND, Georg, député

FORSS, Henrik

HAARRE, Mertsii

IVERSEN, Felix

JOHANSSON, Pentti

LEHTINEN, Viljo

MALIN, Aune

NUUTINEN, Pentti

MELTTI, Raimo

POHJOLA, Olavi

ROSENBERG, Gosta

ROSSELL, Irma

RUOHONEN, Rauha

SALOMAA, Erkki

TURPEINEN, Viljo

VIRE- TUOMINEN, Mirjam

VUORIJARVI, Merku

WINQVIST, Bo

FRANCE

BOULIER, Jean

BOURDET, Claude

BOUTON, Jean

BRETON, Denise

BRUSTON, Henry

CHALIAND, Gérard

CHATAGNER, Jacques

CHOLIERE, Yves

COT, Pierre, député

FOURNIAU, Charles

Groupe de la Fédération du Peuple
de Finlande (SKDL) du Parlement

Vice-Président du Comité de pré-
paration

Le Comité des org. syndicales pour
la paix

L'Union de la Paix en Finlande

Fédération syndicale nationale des
Travailleurs municipaux

Fédération syndicale nationale des
Maçons en Finlande

Fédération démocratique des Femmes de
Finlande

Parti de Centre

Etudiants socialistes

Centrale syndicale de Finlande (SAK)

Mouvement de la Paix en Finlande

Groupe parlementaire de SKDL

Fédération des Femmes social-démocrates
de Finlande

Fédération syndicale des Ouvriers du
Bâtiment

Résistants de guerre en Finlande

Mouvement de la paix en Finlande

Centrale syndicale des ouvriers métallurg-
iques de Helsinki

Comité d'Amitié pour Vietnam

L'Union socialiste des Ouvriers et des
Petits Paysans (TPSL)

Conférence catholique de Berlin

Mouvement contre l'Armement atomique
et Confédération international pour
le Désarmement et la Paix

Mouvement contre l'Armement atomique

Union des Femmes Françaises

Etats généraux du Rhône pour la paix
en Vietnam

Comité Vietnam National

Conférence chrétienne pour la paix

Mouvement de la Paix

Association d'Amitié Franco-Vietnamienne

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

DEVILLERS, Philippe

GRENET, Yves

GUYOT, Raymond

KAPLAN, Francis

LASSERRE, Jean

NORDMAN, Joe

PICHETTE, James

Abbé PIERRE

RENDLER, Roger

SCHAEFER, Jean

SCHAUB, Marianne

SOUQUIERE, André

VESSILIER, Jean-Claude

GAMBIA

GARBA- JAHUMPA, I.M.

Parti de la Jeune République

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Comité de soutien pour le peuple
Vietnamien

Mouvement international de la
Reconciliation

Association international des
Juristes démocrates

Comité des peintres pour la paix

Compagnons d'Emmaus

Etats-généraux du Bas-Rhin pour
la paix au Vietnam

Confédération général du Travail

Collectif intersyndical universi-
taire d'action pour la paix au
Vietnam

Mouvement français de la paix

Mouvement du Milliard

Gambia Congress Party

GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

SEFRIN, Max

Vietnam-Ausschuss des Afro-Asiatischen
Solidaritätskomitees der DDR

GRÄFE, Jürgen

Friedensrat der DDR

MINETTI, Hans-Peter

OESER, Edith

RATHIG, Fritz

SCHMAUSS, Albert

Vietnam-Ausschuss des Afro-Asiatischen
Solidaritätskomitees der DDR

GERMAN FEDERAL REPUBLIC

NIEMÖLLER, Martin

KLOPPENBURG, Heinz

Christian Peace Conference
Kampagne für Abrüstung, Versöhnungsbund
(also ICDP)

RYSCHKOWSKY, Nick J.

INTERFACT Frankfurt-Basel, Studien von
Zeitfragen

HERMANN, Ingo

WOR, Kulturelles Wort

STEINMANN, Elly

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Report of the Commission on
International Law and the
War in Vietnam (Comm.No.1)

The members of this commission, a group of some forty lawyers mainly professors and other teachers of international law at the leading universities in some 25 countries, have come together at Stockholm with the object of examining, from a legal point of view, all aspects of the activities of the U.S.A. in Vietnam. As lawyers we are all greatly concerned that the rule of law should be respected not only in municipal but also in international affairs by all nations, including the largest and most powerful. Also as lawyers we can not come to any conclusions without working on a basis of fact. We take our facts from various sources including the reports of the I.C.C. and from all interested parties.

After the end of the Second World War, the Vietnamese people secured their independence from the colonial empire of France in the course of a war lasting eight years. The war ended with a general settlement reached at an international conference, with US participation at Geneva in 1954.

For many years the ever-increasing military intervention by the U.S.A. in Vietnam has constituted a series of violations of basic rules of the world legal order and of treaty obligations accepted by the U.S.A. After an 8-year war, the Vietnamese people won a decisive victory over colonial rule. The war ended by a general settlement, reached at an international conference, with U.S. participation, held in Geneva in 1954. This settlement reconfirmed the independence and unity of the whole of Vietnam.

However, the U.S. policy has been to endeavour to establish a separate state of South Vietnam, ruled by a subservient puppet government. This policy has been the cause of the Vietnam tragedy and of the violations of principles of general international law, of the U.N. Charter and other treaty obligations by the U.S.A.

A.

1. Violations by the U.S.A. of Principles of General International Law

At least since the Briand-Kellog Pact of 1928 "recourse to war for the solution of international controversies" and "as an instrument of national policy" is prohibited by international law. Also according to the principles of general international law, outside intervention in internal affairs is illegal.

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2. Violations by the U.S.A. of the U.N. Charter

The most basic rules of the U.N. Charter are the obligations of all members to "settle their international disputes by peaceful means" and to refrain in their international relations not only from war but from "the threat of use of force" altogether. In the nuclear age, the observance of these rules constitutes the only protection of mankind against global catastrophe.

However, the U.S. Government has tried to argue that its war against the people of Vietnam is justified by alleging that the Democratic Republic of Vietnam has infiltrated guerrillas and subsequently also regular troops into South Vietnam and thereby committed an "armed attack" against South Vietnam; that the government of South Vietnam asked the U.S.A. for military assistance and that the U.S.A. has been authorized to furnish such assistance because the U.N. Charter (Art. 51) permits "collective self-defence" against armed attack.

This fully distorts the facts and the law.

It is a historical fact that the puppet government of Diem, supported and illegally armed by the U.S.A., carried out a regime of terror against the people of South Vietnam in violation of the Geneva Accords. This gradually compelled the people to rebel against the foreign-imposed regime. The Democratic Republic of Vietnam has never denied its support for their countrymen in this struggle. But their support did not constitute an armed attack or any other breach of international law. That support for the cause of the South Vietnamese people was fully justified under international law because it was in response to the ever-growing violations of the Geneva Agreements by the U.S.A. and the puppet government in South Vietnam. Furthermore, that support by the DRV started only several years after the Diem regime, encouraged by the U.S.A., had sabotaged the central provision of the Geneva settlement of 1954, namely, the unconditional holding of nation-wide elections by July 1956 for the reunification of the country. The holding of these elections for reunification by July 1956 was the very reason for the acceptance by the DRV of the cease-fire in 1954 and of the transitional division of Vietnam into two provisional zones of military regroupment.

The legal construction of the U.S. Government is therefore untenable for the following reasons: the U.S.A. prevented the holding of elections by July 1956 and thereby prevented the establishment of a government of reunified Vietnam of the people's free choosing. Instead, the U.S.A. maintained successive separate terroristic puppet "governments" in Saigon. The "request" by such a puppet government to its foreign protector to assist it to stay in power cannot constitute a bona fide justification for a foreign-armed intervention which has increasingly destroyed the very "ally" it pretends to protect.

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Since no "armed attack" by the DRV has occurred under any proper definition of the concept of "armed attack" under Article 51 of the U.N. Charter, the U.S. war against the DRV is equally indefensible and in flagrant violation of the U.N. Charter.

A corollary to the prohibition of the threat or use of force is the absolute obligation of nations to seek peaceful solutions for any international controversy. If the U.S.A. felt that it had grounds for complaints about the behavior of the DRV, the U.S.A. had, before it started open warfare, 10 years during which it was obligated to seek a peaceful solution. The U.S.A. consistently rejected all efforts toward a peaceful solution of the Vietnam problems.

3. Violations of the U.S. Pledges at the Geneva Conference, 1954

On 21 July, 1954, at the closing session of the Geneva Conference, the U.S.A. assumed formal legal obligations. It pledged not to disturb the Agreements concluded at the Conference, aiming at the restoration of peace, independence, territorial integrity and unity of Vietnam.

However, by various means the U.S.A. prevented the realization of these fundamental principles of the settlement. The U.S.A. soon began a systematic military build-up of South Vietnam by introducing U.S. troops, military personnel, arms and munitions and by establishing military bases, all of which is strictly banned by the Agreements. The U.S.A. formed a military alliance with the Saigon regime, although this is also prohibited by the Agreements.

The U.S.A., furthermore, as said before, prevented the elections for reunification of the two provisional zones of Vietnam. The elections were to be held unconditionally by July 1956, and thus the provisional existence of two separate administrations was to terminate.

Instead, the U.S.A. maintained the administration of Diem and promoted it to the role of the so-called "Government of the Republic of Vietnam", to perpetuate the division of the country.

The U.S.A. settled firmly in South Vietnam and has never permitted the holding of elections for reunification, demanded with ever-increasing insistence by the Vietnamese nation and also demanded, even after 1956, by the United Kingdom and the U.S.S.R. as Co-Chairmen of the Geneva Conference.

The U.S.A. condoned, encouraged, and participated in the cruel measures of repression carried out by the puppet regimes of Diem and his successors against the people of South Vietnam, in contravention of the Geneva Agreements.

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Step by step, the U.S. escalated its military actions, in contravention of its pledge, to the point of actual combat in the South and to open war against the DRV.

The United States also declared at the final session of the 1954 Geneva Conference that "it would view any renewal of the aggression in Vietnam with grave concern and as seriously threatening international peace and security". The war conducted by the U.S. by land, sea and air against Vietnam constitutes a "renewal of the aggression" in terms of the unilateral declaration of the United States itself of 20th June, 1954. It also constitutes a "threat to international peace and security". The U.S.A. has committed armed aggression against Vietnam.

It is, therefore, incontrovertible that the United Nations has acted and is acting with deliberation and despite protests and appeals from both the victims and its own fellow members in the United Nations, as well as from appreciable sections of the world community, in breach of the Geneva Accords of 1954, to which it is a party.

CONCLUSION:

We have seen the Report of Commission III and agree and approve the Conclusions and Recommendations of Commission III. The text of the Report of Commission III should be considered part of the Report of Commission I.

We appeal to the governments and the peoples of the world, and especially the government and people of the USA, to understand the moral and legal issues of the US war against Vietnam. There is not now, and never has been, an aggression or armed attack by the DRV against South Vietnam. There is a peace-loving proud Vietnamese nation which for thousands of years has, when necessary, fought against foreign invaders, which recently has lost millions of dead in four years of struggle against Japanese occupation and 8 years of struggle against restoration of colonial rule and which is now defending itself against the most cruel and destructive war of history, a war of annihilation waged by a great power 10,000 miles away. This war is being waged for the purpose of perpetuating a regime of a handful of traitors who are hated and despised by all strata of the people of South Vietnam and whose chief is an avowed admirer of Adolf Hitler, a regime that would fall ignominiously if not supported by foreign bayonets.

The Vietnamese people are fighting, with enormous sacrifices, for independence and against foreign occupation and invasion. Their grievances are by far more serious than were the grievances that caused the American colonies to battle against the British almost 200 years ago.

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Violations by the U.S.A. of the Generally Recognised Laws and Usages of War

In the conduct of the war in Vietnam, the U.S.A. has violated generally recognised laws and usages of war.

International law has long established that hostilities in war-time can be waged solely against the enemy armed forces and other military objectives, but not against the civilian population. This generally recognised principle of international law which was embodied in the Hague Convention IV of 1907 and in the Geneva Convention of 1949 on the Protection of the Civilian Population in War-Time, to both of which the U.S.A. is a party. The same principle is laid down in the U.N. Declaration on the non-use of nuclear weapons for war purposes, and other acts.

International law prohibits in particular, the bombing of undefended towns and the civilian population. The principles are re-affirmed in Article 25 of the Annex to the Hague Convention IV of 1907: "It is prohibited to attack or bomb in any manner undefended cities, villages, dwellings or buildings". See also, for example, the draft Hague rules of aerial warfare of 1923 and the Resolution of the General Commission of the Disarmament Conference of the League of Nations (Aerial Attacks against the Civilian Population should be unconditionally banned). After the Second World War, this ban was reconfirmed by the Charter of the International Military Tribunal (Item B, Article 6) and the Geneva Convention of 1949 on the Protection of the Civilian Population in war-time.

Characteristically, on September 22, 1937, the U.S. Government, in reply to Japan's notification about the forthcoming aerial bombardment of Nanking, stated: "The Government is of the opinion that any bombardment of an extensive zone containing a sizeable population engaged in their peaceful pursuits is inadmissible and runs counter to the principles of law and humanity."

In the war in Vietnam, the U.S.A. has trampled on all these norms of international law. The U.S. armed forces are continuously engaged in the criminal bombing and shelling of peaceful towns and villages of Vietnam, subjecting civilians to extermination and causing wanton destruction, which is also forbidden by the Hague Convention IV of 1907.

Waging its war in Vietnam, the United States took the path of resorting to chemical weapons. Thereby the United States is flagrantly violating the provisions of the Geneva Protocol banning the use in war of poison and similar gases and bacteriological weapons, dated June 17, 1925, signed and ratified by 47 nations. The United States signed this instrument, but did not ratify it. However, the proscriptive norms established by the Geneva Protocol of 1925 have long become

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generally recognised principles under international law.

International law requires a humane treatment of prisoners of war. In this respect, the U.S. armed forces are blatantly violating the Geneva Convention of 1949 on the Treatment of Prisoners of war which it signed and ratified.

We wish to state in no uncertain terms that the ways and means of war practised by the U.S. armed forces against the Vietnamese people, the entire system of the occupation regime imposed by the American military authorities inevitably leads to the gravest of all crimes, the crime of genocide condemned by an international convention by general international law, and by the conscience of mankind.

The bombardment and shelling by the U.S. armed forces of densely populated areas in Vietnam, dykes and other irrigation works resulting in floods, as well as the poisoning and destruction of food crops can have only one purpose, that is, bringing about massive calamities for the people of Vietnam.

By these and other transgressions against the generally recognised principles of international law, the United States has openly challenged the world community.

All violations of the laws and usages of war by the U.S.A. in Vietnam are also forbidden by the national law of the U.S.A., for example by the U.S. Department of the Army Field Manual 27-10 of 18 July, 1956, "The Law of Land Warfare". The Manual declares specifically in its Article 499 that "Every violation of the law of war is a war crime".

RECOMMENDATION

Under the principles of general international law, restitution and indemnification for the loss of life and of public and private property caused by violations of international obligations should be made by the U.S.A. and by the other states participating in the war on the U.S. side.

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REPORT OF THE COMMISSION ON
THE FACE OF THE WAR

No.2

I

For over 20 years the United States Government has forcefully intervened in the internal affairs of the Vietnamese people. First, by their support of French colonialism, and from 1954 by direct and brutal aggression, the U.S. has carried out both a quantitative and, more important, a qualitative escalation of the war.

Simultaneous with the quantitative growth of the U.S. expeditionary force from 20,000 in 1963 to almost half a million now, the war has been extended from within South Vietnam to include all of Indochina, and is becoming a general Asian war as well, through the addition of South Korean, Australian, New Zealand, Philippine and Thai forces. At the same time, there has been a growing and serious involvement of the British, West German and Japanese governments, amongst others.

Barrier after barrier has been crossed in the development of the intervention from a localised war to an international war with strong racist components. Step by step new weapons and new military techniques have been introduced, transforming this war from a military conflict of traditional colonialist type to one of extermination of the Vietnamese people.

Napalm, white phosphorus bombs, gases which kill or disable, toxic chemicals for the destruction of crops and livestock, CBU's (cluster bomb units) and other weapons of mass destruction designed to be used against civilians are now employed routinely in enormous quantities by the U.S. expeditionary forces in Vietnam.

Forced deportations to concentration camps, called "pacification", the seizure of crops and foodstocks, torture and murder of prisoners and the systematic and deliberate destruction of schools, markets, hospitals and churches are daily occurrences in Vietnam. These weapons and techniques violate the conscience of civilised man, trample on recognised standards of international law and raise the spectre of genocide against the Vietnamese people.

For more than a year there has been a steady increase in the bombing of dykes, dams and other irrigation works in North Vietnam with the obvious aim of causing floods and mass starvation. Delayed action bombs are often dropped at the same time as the bombing of the dykes in order to make their repair by the population impossible, thereby increasing the probability of disaster. One should record the fact that Seyss Inquart was condemned to death by the Nuremberg Tribunal for committing precisely this crime in Holland. Nor have the new

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weapons in the U.S. armoury been exhausted. Many still more deadly chemical and biological weapons are under active production or intensive research.

II

The Commission has had the opportunity of studying documents, photographic and eyewitness reports on the immediate effects of the war on the Vietnamese people. It is estimated that more than one million children have been killed, seriously burned, mutilated or disfigured by the military actions of the U.S. and the powers which collaborate with her.

The disruption of the daily family life in great parts of the South, a phenomenon that several European peoples experienced during the second world war, has now been taking place for a decade, and on an even more brutal scale, in the occupied parts of South Vietnam. The long-term effects on the mental, moral and physical health of the population, especially of the children, is beyond calculation.

By the end of 1966 more than 700,000 acres of South Vietnam's croplands and forests had been sprayed with heavy concentrations of defoliants and other toxic chemicals. According to Pentagon sources four times the amount of toxic chemicals used in 1966 will be used in 1967. The long-term effects on Vietnam's ecology, agriculture and way of life will be felt profoundly for generations to come. Thus, in this respect, the wholesale use of these weapons presents hazards comparable to those caused by radioactive fallout from nuclear weapons.

The Vietnamese war has provided a testing and training ground for weapons, techniques and personnel designed to prop-up repressive and anti-democratic regimes. Already other parts of Asia, parts of Africa and Latin America - more recently, even Europe itself - have felt the effects of the new technology of repression which has been developed in South-East Asia. Meanwhile the erosion of long-standing conventions against the use of weapons of mass destruction and ill-treatment of prisoners has paved the way to the violation of these standards elsewhere, notably in the Middle East. Thus the shadow of U.S. intervention in Vietnam already falls over the rest of the world.

III

At the same time, the continued escalation of the war in Vietnam has had repercussions in the United States itself. Increasing sectors of U.S. scientific and industrial life are becoming geared to the machinery of war. Many of the most creative sections of American society have been conscripted into the development of new weapons. In the United States and the countries which are collaborating with her against Vietnam, the economic burden of the war, the senseless sacrifice of many of their sons, the postponing of social legislation, the corruption of social life by the example of violence and the slow erosion of liberal-democratic values under the strain of war show that the people of America and the collaborating states, too, must be counted amongst the victims of this war.

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Thus the continued escalation of the war in Vietnam poses a series of concrete threats to the peoples of the world. It is of decisive importance that ever-wider sections of the world's population recognise the nature of these new challenges to their own interests, and join in solidarity with the Vietnamese people and with progressive people within the U.S. and its collaborators in their struggle. The just fight of the Vietnamese people for national liberation and the right to live a decent life is part of the common struggle of peoples throughout the world for peace, social development, democracy and freedom.

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About Actions to Take

In the discussion, several suggestions were put forward about actions to take. It was agreed that these ideas and suggestions should be referred to the commission in charge of future actions. The following is merely a catalogue.

1. It is necessary to carry out investigations and publish material about European, Canadian, Middle East oil companies, etc., involvement in the war against Vietnam. (Similar to the report "West German Complicity in U.S. Intervention in Vietnam", published by the Vietnam Committee of the Afro-Asian Solidarity Committee of the G.D.R.) One example of this is the activities of the successor companies to I.G. Farben, the firm which produced Zyklon B for the gas chambers of the German extermination camps, which have now set up an industrial plant in South Vietnam for the production of toxic chemicals and gases for the U.S. expeditionary forces.
2. Who's Who in the Murder Business? An annual book with data about persons working in bacteriological and chemical warfare institutions; persons responsible for the development of napalm-B, CBU's (Cluster bomb units), the gas BZ, etc.; producers of napalm and other illegal weapons; military personnel, e.g. "chemical officers", responsible for the use of illegal weapons. (Viet-Report has done and does fine work in this connection by investigating U.S. university involvement in war research).
3. An international book on war crimes in Vietnam. (It was reported that the Bertrand Russell Tribunal will publish a book on this theme with the material from its 1967 session in Stockholm.)
4. New methods for bringing about information about the war in Vietnam and developing mass movements for solidarity with the just struggle of the Vietnamese and Laotian peoples. (The French Etats généraux and other forms of united mass actions were emphasised.) Teach-ins of a new type, concentrating on special aspects of the war in Vietnam, e.g. mass annihilation weapons, international law and scientific and medical responsibility and ethics.
5. Continued cooperation of the international organisations which organised the Stockholm Conference, on the basis of the platform formulated in the joint statements.
6. Steps must be taken to re-establish the barriers against napalm, toxic chemicals, poison gases and to re-establish guarantees for the protection of civilians and prisoners of war.
7. Several speakers expressed the need of

A UNIVERSAL APPEAL

(similar to the Stockholm Appeal Against the Atom Bomb) for collection of signatures in every country against the U.S. war of aggression in

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Vietnam, and for a solution according to the 1954 Geneva Agreements: recognise the unity and independence of Vietnam, an unconditional halt to the bombing of the D.R. of Vietnam, withdrawal of all foreign troops, recognise the NLF as the only authentic representative of the South Vietnamese people, and allow the Vietnamese people to settle their own affairs without any foreign interference whatever. This appeal was regarded by the commission as an urgent need to rally the peoples of the world.

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Conclusions of the Commission
on the struggle for independence
and development in Vietnam (No. 3)

1. The right of peoples to self-determination is the basis of international life. That means that each people has the inalienable right to choose for itself the political, economic and social regime under which it wants to live.

The Vietnamese people who proclaimed their independence in 1945 have for 22 years been fighting to defend this, first against the French Government and now against that of the United States.

2. In 1954, the Geneva Agreements recognized the independence of the Vietnamese nation, and affirmed the principle of Vietnamese sovereignty, independence, unity and territorial integrity. Vietnam was acknowledged to be a single state, temporarily separated into two zones by a purely military demarcation line, of which it was formally declared that it would be in no case regarded as a political frontier.

The Geneva Agreements formulated a democratic procedure to unify Vietnam through general elections. They provided for democratic freedoms to be guaranteed until the elections. They also stipulated that all foreign troops would be withdrawn from Vietnam and foreign bases prohibited - and that it would be prohibited to introduce or set up others. The Geneva Agreements, had they been implemented, would have ensured independence and peace for Vietnam.

3. Contrary to the Geneva Agreements the oligarchic and corrupt regime set up in Vietnam by the French government with the political support and material and financial aid of the United States made every effort after 1954 to transform the Southern zone into a separate state.

In setting up the Ngo Dinh Diem Government, its chosen instrument, the United States wanted to make a permanent consolidation of the provisional division of Vietnam, to turn the South into a colony of a new type, and a military base which would permit them to intervene throughout South East Asia. Given its reactionary nature and the fact that it was the tool of a foreign

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power, the regime in the southern zone could assert itself only by violence against the democratic and patriotic forces which were demanding strict application of the Geneva Agreements (in particular the elections of 1956), agrarian reform and a democratic regime.

4. Since the Saigon regime refused to consider any popular demands and systematically resorted to terror, it left no alternative but armed struggle. The people of South Vietnam rose up in legitimate defence to overthrow the oligarchic regime supported by the United States.

The National Liberation Front of South Vietnam (NLF), formed in December, 1960, since then has led the popular revolt. The essential points of its programme are independence, democracy, peace and neutrality - that is, the basic principles of the Geneva Agreements.

In this fight for genuine democracy and independence, all the patriotic forces, whether political or religious, are gathering around the Front. Thus the Front, alone, authentically represents the fundamental aspirations of the people of South Vietnam.

5. Contrary to the Geneva Agreements and to the commitments taken by the Saigon oligarchy in 1956, the American administration intervened militarily in the South in order to save the regime which it was using as an instrument of its policies. After the failure of the "Special War", the U.S. administration claimed that the insurrection of the people of the South had been fomented by Hanoi, and attacked with air and naval forces the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, a sovereign and independent state.

In 1965 the Johnson administration also took over direct responsibility for the war in the South. They sent an army which now numbers nearly half a million.

They exercised strong pressure on their allies, notably those in SEATO and NATO, to participate in the war; they have obtained troops from South Korea, Thailand, Australia, and certain other countries.

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6. To justify this new colonial war of unprecedented intensity, the U.S. administration uses arguments that are not borne out by the facts.

The Johnson administration is defending neither Justice nor Democracy, nor the true long-term interests of the U.S.A. In fact, the war in Vietnam is part of a vast plan to create a zone of United States strategic and economic influence in Asia.

Thus, considering:

A. that the war in Vietnam is the result solely of the U.S. aggression, first covert then overt, against Vietnam, and that this aggression must be condemned

B. That a solution to this problem is conceivable only if the fundamental rights of the Vietnamese people are respected.

So it is only on the following basis that a settlement can be expected:

1. The definitive and unconditional cessation of bombing and all other acts of war against the Democratic Republic of Vietnam
2. A genuine, durable solution can be obtained in the South only by the cessation of the U.S. aggression, the unconditional, total and permanent withdrawal of American and allied forces and their equipment, and the dismantling of their military bases.
3. It is up to the Vietnamese people to settle their own affairs, on the basis of independence, democracy, peace and neutrality, that is to say according to the principles of the Geneva Agreements and the programme of the NLF.

Therefore: no solution can be obtained in the South without the recognition of the National Liberation Front of South Vietnam, which alone authentically represents the fundamental aspirations of the people of South Vietnam.

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REPORT OF THE COMMISSION ON PEACE
INITIATIVES - REAL & DECEPTIVE

No. 4.

The Commission on Peace Initiatives, after examining the evidence in respect to the peace initiatives launched by the various parties to the conflict, by other countries and by the Secretary-General of the United Nations, has come to the following conclusions:-

- (1) The government of the United States has shown no real desire for a just and honourable solution of the conflict in Vietnam. Its fundamental political aims have remained unchanged. It wishes to make the provisional demarcation line of the 17th parallel into a political boundary in violation of the Geneva Agreements. In effect, it wishes to create a separate South Vietnam, as an instrument of American policy.
- (2) All the peace initiatives undertaken by the United States in the period since the Baltimore speech of President Johnson in April 1965 (which marked the first stated willingness of the United States to negotiate on any terms whatever) have in effect been demands for surrender. Every time there has been talk of peace, the United States has escalated the war. Therefore, the Conference denounces the so-called peace offensives of the Johnson administration, as well as the aggression itself.
- (3) There are two immediate major obstacles to starting the peace negotiations in Vietnam. First, the bombing of North Vietnam by the United States. As long as the bombing continues, there cannot be any worthwhile peace talks. No country can negotiate while it is being bombed every day. The second major obstacle is the refusal of the United States Government to recognise the National Liberation Front as the authentic representative of the South Vietnamese people.
- (4) Peace will come to Vietnam only when there is a change in the real political goals and political attitudes of the Government of the United States. Given its past record, it is for the U.S. Government to give a clear indication of a change in its attitude if it is serious about bringing peace in Vietnam. The clearest way of indicating such a change in its attitude will be the unconditional and permanent cessation of the bombing of North Vietnam and furthermore, the recognition of the National Liberation Front.

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Once this has been done and once the peace talks have been started, we urge all the neutral countries to offer their good offices to help achieve a situation where there is no escalation of armed conflict or any increase in the military potential of either side.

(5) Meanwhile, it is the task of the world peace movement and the peace movement in the United States to make every effort to expose the real intentions and political goals of the Government of the United States, and to make every effort to bring about a change in its policy. This is the only way peace will come about in Vietnam.

There is a fundamental contradiction between the real strategy of the Johnson Government and its stated goals.

While the publicly affirmed purpose of the U.S. Government in Vietnam is to curb aggression and to defend democracy in South Vietnam, actually that government seeks to retain colonialism, defeat efforts at national liberation, establish bases for the containment and elimination of communism and to enforce American hegemony.

The Conference accepts the following principles as the cornerstones for peace in Vietnam:

- (a) An immediate end to all bombing and other acts of war against the D.R.V. as the essential first step.
- (b) Unequivocal acceptance of the principles of Geneva, namely:- the sovereignty, independence, unity and territorial integrity of Vietnam.
- (c) Recognition of the National Liberation Front as having the decisive voice in the settlement of the South Vietnam problem.
- (d) Again in accordance with Geneva, the right of the Vietnamese people to national self-determination, that is, their right to resolve their own problems in their own way and by their own means, without intervention by any foreign power, or the pressure of foreign troops, military bases or any other military establishments. We agree wholeheartedly with the principle that the United States and all other foreign powers must withdraw from Vietnam.

We believe these are just principles, and we commend them to the support of all people everywhere.

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REPORT OF THE COMMISSION ON THE GROWING
ISOLATION OF THE USA IN THE WORLD, DUE
TO ITS POLICIES AND ACTIONS IN
VIETNAM

No. 5

1. The Fifth Commission, representing individuals from different countries, different organisations and differing points of view, agrees that United States aggression against Vietnam has a deteriorating effect on the world situation, creates new tensions and unrest, encourages new aggressions and hampers the efforts of those countries still struggling to achieve their independence.
2. People everywhere fear that the United States' irresponsible escalation in Vietnam is leading the world closer to a nuclear war.
3. Therefore this policy of the U.S. Government is causing its own political and moral isolation.
4. It is important for Americans and the people of the other countries whose governments are actively supporting U.S. intervention to become more aware that their former friends are growing increasingly hostile to American policy in Vietnam. All expressions of critical opinion and all activities against the war throughout the world increase the isolation of this policy and help to create a climate of opinion in the United States favourable to a change of policy.
5. The Commission suggests to the Steering Committee that it submit to the Conference an Appeal expressing certain minimum ideas which will further the isolation of United States policy and assure the triumph of peace and the independence of the Vietnamese people.
6. These minimum ideas could be:
 - a) Stop the bombing of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam unconditionally and permanently;
 - b) Recognise the NLF of South Vietnam;
 - c) The strict application of the Geneva Agreements of 1954 which call for the withdrawal of all foreign troops from Vietnam.
7. On the basis of these proposals, the Commission recommends that all individuals and organisations undertake appropriate action on a national and international scale.
8. In addition to obvious support for all forms of mass action uniting all sections of public opinion, the Commission considered a number of specific actions appropriate and possible in each country.

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These include:

- a) Reciprocal exchange of information about activities aimed at furthering the isolation of the United States Government's aggressive policies.

Particular emphasis should be placed on informing appropriate organisations in the U.S. and in the countries whose governments actively support the U.S. Vietnam policy of actions throughout the world.

- b) Interchange of opinion through correspondence and personal contacts.

The Commission sees the exchange of outstanding personalities as having particular value.

- c) Promoting activities among the various professional, social and cultural groups.

- d) There was a lengthy discussion on the advisability of a boycott of American goods. It was felt that this form of action may be considered possible whenever and wherever appropriate conditions prevail.

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CONCLUSIONS OF COMMISSION ON
MATERIAL AID TO VIETNAM

No. 6

The Commission agreed on the urgent need to respond to the escalation of the war in Vietnam by the United States with an ever-increasing escalation of material aid to the people of Vietnam. It regarded the need for increased aid as immediate and pressing, and discussed different ways in which approaches could be made to ever-wider groups of people in every country.

The Commission, realising the value of international co-operation with its stimulus to national effort, proposed an International Information Centre for material aid, arising from this conference, but inviting the co-operation of all organisations working for material aid for Vietnam. Further, that such a centre should produce a regular International Bulletin to provide the necessary liaison between the different countries. The Commission agreed that the organisations taking part should propose corresponding members for an Editorial Board who would help in the production of the Bulletin.

The Commission agreed that the co-ordination of aid and the question of priorities could best be solved through such a Bulletin. This would circulate the requests of representatives of the Vietnamese people, including the Vietnam Red Cross Society and the Liberation Red Cross of South Vietnam, and enable each country to select the items they are best able to supply. It should equally spread the achievements obtained by various aid committees in different countries.

At the same time, the Commission expresses the wish that the sum total of the funds often raised in different ways in a country be published, periodically. This would considerably stimulate the different actions and be of significant propaganda value.

The Commission considered a number of practical proposals to stimulate wider support for a specific project which could be achieved by co-operation on a regional basis.

It welcomed the proposal of the Swedish Social-Democratic Youth to the Nordic countries to establish a hospital in Cambodia for the Vietnamese people.

It also recommended the co-operation of the Western European countries in providing the medical and technical equipment for the proposed hospital of 250 beds in the province of Vinh, discussed by representatives of the Aid Committee of Federal Germany with the Red Cross Society of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam.

The Commission recognised the value of the close associations of different Aid Committees with particular hospitals in Vietnam, such as those already established by some countries.

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The Commission agreed that proposals made by organisations in Britain and Japan to send a boat loaded with medical equipment supplied by many countries to Haiphong was a project to be explored. It was of the opinion that such a co-operative venture would have a broad and imaginative appeal.

The Commission considered the need for new school accommodation and equipment for children whose schools had been bombed, or had been evacuated from the towns. It agreed on the necessity for special appeals to meet these needs. It also expressed its support for the Appeal of the Scientists in favour of buying scientific apparatus and books for the university of Hanoi.

The Commission welcomed all the reports of material aid sent to Vietnam as an expression of practical and moral support to the Vietnamese people in their struggle for self-determination. Members of the Commission expressed their determination to win increasing support to meet the urgent needs of the Vietnamese people now and in the period of reconstruction.

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REPORT OF THE COMMISSION ON CO-ORDINATION
OF ACTIVITIES FOR PEACE AND INDEPEND-
ENCE IN VIETNAM

No.7

I. Continuing Committee

The Commission presents the following resolution for adoption by the Conference:

In order to sustain and broaden the understanding and common aims shown by the Stockholm Conference, this Commission recommends that there shall be a continuing committee of this Conference, which shall initially be composed of members of the Organising Committee (subject to confirmation by the organisations which they represent).

The Continuing Committee's membership shall be open to all organisations working for similar objectives as those set out by the Conference.

All invitations to such organisations to join the Committee will be made after full discussion and the agreement of participating organisations.

The functions of the Committee shall be devoted to the purposes of this Conference and shall be purely consultative and for liaison. Among other matters, the aims of the Committee shall include:

- 1) the exchange of information and plans between organisations and countries,
- 2) closer international co-operation and the extension of the campaign against the war in Vietnam to new groups and areas, and
- 3) the raising of necessary finance for its functioning.

II. Co-ordinated Actions in Support of the Conference Appeal

The Commission recommends that all possible measures should be taken to obtain the widest support for the Conference Appeal. Various methods have been suggested. These include the collection of signatures to the Appeal, the placing of advertisements in newspapers, tours by well-known people, and especially those from the United States, and other forms, as well as meetings, demonstrations, teach-ins, seminars, etc.

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III. Co-ordination of Demonstrations

The organisations and groups working for peace in Vietnam should mark certain occasions by demonstrations in many countries and towns. Suggested dates for such international demonstrations are:

- a) July 20 - the anniversary of the signing of the Geneva Agreements;
- b) October 21- the day on which there are to be mass demonstrations in Washington.

IV. Vigilance

Organisations and groups are urged to keep watch on developments in the Vietnam war, to give warning of any threat to extend the war and to recommend measures of resistance in the event of such extensions.

V. Other Proposals

A large number of suggestions for action have been made by various organisations during the work of the Commission. These are listed below for purposes of information, each organisation being free to decide which of them to support and in what manner.

- (1) Publication and Research. Publication of material helpful for the campaign.
- (2) Special efforts to inform and secure the co-operation of religious groups.
- (3) Preparation of a directory of all organisations working for peace in Vietnam.
- (4) Preparation of a list of United States peace organisations and important individuals taking part in the work for peace in Vietnam to facilitate correspondence and contacts.
- (5) Insertion of advertisements in U.S. papers, not only in the most well-known papers but also in the regional papers. Such advertisements should also be considered for publication in newspapers in other countries, particularly those allied to the United States. Advertisements signed by U.S. citizens would be of especial value in other countries.
- (6) Co-ordination of fund-raising activities for aid to Vietnam, including the preparation of gramophone records of Vietnamese songs with translations read by well-known actors, postcards designed by well-known artists, exhibitions and the exchange of such material.
- (7) Aid, both moral and material, to those facing the draft or already in the army who refuse on grounds of conscience to take part in the war. Such aid should include pressure on governments not to repatriate those who have left the United States.

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- (8) Boycott of U.S. goods in such countries and in such ways as could have a psychological effect on American public opinion. Opposition to the export of goods to the United States which might be used for the American war industry.
- (9) Leafletting of U.S. tourists and other visitors to make them aware of the opposition to the war in the countries they visit.
- (10) Support for the Japanese proposal for an international relief fleet.
- (11) Volunteers for assistance to the Vietnam people, should they be asked for by the Government of the DRV, could be listed.
- (12) Support for the initiative for the holding of an international meeting of writers proposed by the Indian Writers' Committee.
- (13) Use of all possible means, such as exhibitions, films, photographs, to diffuse information.
- (14) The designing of a badge for peace in Vietnam which might be of world-wide use.

A number of other proposals have been referred to the Continuing Committee.

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1. The War in Vietnam

- a) It is an obvious violation of international law, of the United Nations Charter and of the Geneva Accords of 1954.
- b) It represents the gravest danger to the peace of the world. It is a colonial war, and U.S. victory would be considered license for permanent aggression.
- c) Its prolongation and intensification creates international tension.

2. Present Events

- a) The fighting has already spread beyond the boundaries of Vietnam.
- b) The aggression is part of a vast plan to create a strategic U.S. zone of influence in Asia as well as other continents.
- c) The flames of war have recently reached the Middle East. There are also many continuing threats to other regions of the world. These are dangerous examples which could be followed by other aggressive countries thus endangering world security.

3. Factors which may lead to Extension of the War

- a) The theory of "local war" is false and must be rejected. Even the smallest war of aggression may spiral out of control by miscalculation or by chance.
- b) Increasing economic disparity between poor and rich nations contributes to international tensions, which threaten world peace and should be reduced.

4. Suggestions for Peace in Vietnam and the World

- a) End the war in Vietnam, by
 - 1. a cessation of bombing by the U.S. of the territory of North Vietnam,
 - 2. recognition by the U.S. of NLF of South Vietnam,
 - 3. commitment by the U.S. to negotiate on the basis of the principles of the Geneva Agreements of 1954 within the framework of the NLF program.
- b) End all military and imperialistic aggression everywhere.
- c) Withdrawal of all foreign military forces and bases from territory gained by use of force.
- d) End the spiraling arms race, including nuclear, chemical and bacteriological weapons.
- e) Liberation of all colonial territories.
- f) Recognition of the right of self-determination, and non-inter-

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STOCKHOLM CONFERENCE ON VIETNAM

FINAL

REPORT OF THE WORKING GROUP OF RELIGIOUS
ORGANISATIONS

The working group of the representatives of the religious communities at the Stockholm Conference, consisted of members of Christian churches and movements. The following declaration must be regarded as a contribution of Christian participants to the work of the Conference:-

(1) The very basis of the Christian witness is the love of God as shown by Christ toward all mankind. Our preaching of this message only becomes convincing when it is accompanied by a courageous witness of action. We are called to live the mercy of God. As God loves man, we have to love one another. Therefore, we cannot remain silent or inactive in face of the immense suffering being inflicted on the people of Vietnam. It is our Christian responsibility to help bring this horrifying war in Vietnam to an end. The Christian task is to declare the truth and to seek reconciliation in the name of God. But there will be no reconciliation or peace without social justice, political and spiritual freedom and self determination.

(2) In order to accomplish these aims, we must seek and declare the truth about the war in Vietnam. According to the analysis of this Conference, the war continues and escalates because of the American aggression in Vietnam. It could be ended if the bombing of North Vietnam were stopped, the American forces withdrawn and the Vietnamese people were allowed to settle their own affairs according to the principles of the Geneva agreements and to the programme of the N.L.F.

(3) The participation of a great number of Christians of different denominations representing many Christian movements and peace organisations at the Stockholm Conference, is a sign of the sharpened responsibility of the Christian community regarding this war. When we return to our countries after this Conference, we pledge ourselves to mobilize more and more of our fellow Christians to carry out their Christian duty by action against the war and to support our church leaders in doing so. A world-wide protest cannot be silenced. In our Christian communities we support the peace appeals of Popes John XXIII and Paul VI as well as the declarations of the Christian Peace Conference and other Christian Groups.

- This war must be ended;

- we urge all Christians who take seriously the words of the New Testament about peace and love, to act for peace in community with all men of good will, irrespective of their different religious or political opinions;

- we appeal to all Christians to use every possibility to contribute to the quick ending of the war in Vietnam, and to express solidarity (in its various ways including medical aid).

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- we ask those present at the Stockholm Conference to inform public opinion about the results of this Conference; we especially ask the Christians of all denominations to discuss the results of this Conference in their constituencies.
- we recommend also that a world conference of Christian churches and religious organisations be held in order to bring an end to the war more speedily and to restore peace and independence in Vietnam.

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REPORT OF THE WORKING GROUP
OF WOMEN

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On July 8, 1967, in the framework of the Stockholm Conference on Vietnam, 37 women, representing different national and international organisations, met in order to exchange views and to find better methods regarding future actions which women can take to hasten the end of the war in Vietnam. Many useful proposals were made to inform the women of the world about the tragic consequences arising from the military action of the U.S., including the use of chemical and toxic products designed to kill human beings and to reduce a people to famine. The urgency was felt to step up our efforts, and we call on women all over the world to demand from the U.S. government:

- an end to the bombing of North Vietnam,
- the strict implementation of the Geneva Agreements,
- recognition of the NLF as a partner in any negotiations, for failing this no peace settlement in Vietnam can be negotiated,
- recognition of the Vietnamese people's right to decide their own affairs.

It was proposed that there be greater communication and co-operation among all women and organisations working for peace in order to stimulate a united effort capable of influencing public opinion in all countries to take action to end the war in Vietnam.

All the women present were deeply concerned about the suffering of the people of Vietnam and expressed their admiration for their heroic resistance struggle.

They assured their Vietnamese sisters that they will do all in their power to help to bring the war to an end and ensure peace and independence for the Vietnamese people.

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WORLD CONFERENCE IN STOCKHOLM ON VIETNAM~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

6 - 9 July 1967

Trade unionists' working group

The participants in the trade unionists' working group which met within the framework of the World Conference on Vietnam;

Aware of the dangers for world peace arising from the war in Vietnam and of the threats thus caused to the security of the working masses; aware that an extension of the conflict would mean undoing all the efforts that have been made in all countries for the well-being of the workers,

Note with satisfaction that the conference has called for an end to the bombings of North Vietnam as an essential condition for the opening of negotiations; declare their support for the Vietnamese people's right to decide their own future without any foreign interference; for the withdrawal of American and satellite troops, this being an absolute condition for the exercise of this right.

The participants undertake to support these positions and to promote actions in this direction among the workers of their respective countries, and with this aim, to broaden the contacts made at this meeting.

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STOCKHOLM CONFERENCE ON VIETNAM

6 - 9 July, 1967

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~RESOLUTION

PASSED BY THE WORKING GROUP OF SCIENTISTS, TEACHERS AND DOCTORS
AND SUBMITTED TO THE PLENARY SESSION OF THE CONFERENCE

The following resolution was passed unanimously by the working group:-

This group of scientists, doctors and teachers sends warm greetings to Dr. Levy in prison in the U.S.A. and expresses its full support for the stand he has made in refusing to prostitute his scientific and medical knowledge and training to serve the interests of the U.S. war machine in Vietnam. We call on doctors, scientists and teachers in every country to express their support for his courageous action and to protest against his unjust imprisonment.

We deplore the growing involvement of the scientific, medical and teaching communities in the U.S., West Europe and elsewhere in research, on development and use of new forms of weapons, including biological and chemical weapons, which run counter to scientific, medical and humanitarian ethics. We are disturbed at the extent to which these communities are becoming geared to the machinery of the Warfare State.

We call on all doctors, teachers and scientists to refuse to participate in this type of research, and on people everywhere to approach those working in these fields to urge that they cease to do so.

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REPORT OF THE YOUTH AND STUDENTS
WORKING GROUP

Representatives of the various youth and student organisations participating in the Stockholm Conference on Vietnam met and discussed appropriate action.

Believing

- I That a political struggle for supporting the Vietnamese people in its fight for social and political liberty can only be effective if it unites the forces engaged (a) in the general struggle for democracy in Western industrial countries, and (b) in the struggle for national independence, democracy and social progress in the under-developed countries.
- II That students and youth movements have special opportunities for political research and action.
- III And that it is necessary to further mobilise youth and students opinion and to organise increased united action in the campaign against U.S. aggression,

The Working Group made the following recommendations -

- 1) Student and youth organisations in all countries should establish contacts with the anti-war students' and youth movements in the United States to express solidarity with their struggle, particularly with their resistance to the military draft.
- 2) Student and youth movements in countries sympathetic to U.S. policy should take all necessary measures of resistance to their government's support of the war..
- 3) The possibility should be explored of organising well-informed student and youth delegations from various countries, including Vietnam, to visit the United States and allied countries in order to explain to youth and students the international opposition to the war.
- 4) In particular the possibility should be investigated for a meeting of youth and students from Vietnam and the United States.
- 5) Students and youth movements should organise increased material assistance for the victims of U.S. aggression in Vietnam, in particular medical aid.
- 6) National students and youth organisations should arrange action around specific events and days, and also possibly on an international day of students' and youth solidarity with the Vietnamese people.

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- 7) In the Continuing Committee to be set up by this Conference there should be students and youth representatives with responsibility for liaising between various national and international organisations engaged in opposition to the Vietnam war and for approaching all such organisations not at present actively opposed to the war.

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Stockholm, July 6-9, 1967

final

Parliamentarian's working group

RECOMMENDATION

1. Members of various parliaments meeting in Stockholm at the World Congress on Vietnam express their solidarity with members of parliament in the DRV and with the delegates of the NLF who are leading the struggle of the South Vietnamese people, and demand that activity in favour of the struggle of the Vietnamese people for independence be intensified through the development of new forms of action and the strengthening of the effectiveness of this struggle.
2. They undertake to appeal to the members of their national groups in the Interparliamentary Union to promote, during their meetings, all initiatives relating to support of the Vietnamese people.
3. The parliamentarians present in Stockholm will organize, with the aid of the Continuing Committee, meetings, particularly in the form of round-table talks among parliamentarians of different countries and members of the US Congress, in order to discover the best means to achieve the re-establishment of a peace that guarantees the independence of the Vietnamese people.

It would also be desirable for an international parliamentary group to be established to take the initiative in forming delegations and organizing meetings and discussions with the same object in view.

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APPEAL TO THE WORLD FOR VIETNAM

The American escalation in Vietnam has become nothing less than genocide. This is why it is the duty of every man and woman to stand up in conscience against it. Ending this aggression, while ensuring the independence and liberty of the Vietnamese people, has become a world-wide demand.

It is only on the following basis that a settlement can be expected:

1. The definitive and unconditional cessation of bombing and all other acts of war against the Democratic Republic of Vietnam.
2. A genuine, durable solution can be obtained in the South only by the cessation of the U.S. aggression, the unconditional, total and permanent withdrawal of American and allied forces and their equipment, and the dismantling of their military bases.
3. It is up to the Vietnamese people to settle their own affairs, on the basis of independence, democracy, peace and neutrality, that is to say, according to the principles of the Geneva Agreements and the programme of the NLF which represents the fundamental aspirations of the people of South Vietnam.

To support the cause of the Vietnamese people is to defend the right of all peoples to independence and peace. That is why we, men and women from many different places, with many different opinions and beliefs, undertake to work together and to intensify our efforts in every country and internationally to promote more and more action on an ever-increasing scale against the American war of aggression against Vietnam, for peace, freedom and independence for the people of Vietnam, for peace in the world, for the future of mankind.

Stockholm, 9 July 1967

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CLOSING ADDRESS OF THE
WORLD CONFERENCE ON VIETNAM
BY PROFESSOR GUNAR MYRDAL

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I feel much honoured by having been called upon to say the last words at this Conference. Though other pressing duties have prevented me from participating in the work, I have followed it from a distance with intense interest. When you are now at the end of your labours, I think that you can congratulate the organisers and yourselves for initiating and carrying out an enterprise of great potential importance for bringing to an end the immense human tragedy of the Vietnam war.

The Conference has been called by practically all international peace organisations in the world, including the United States. In this country as the host country, the initiative has been backed by trade unions, youth organisations, religious and political groups of various colourings. Individuals who have expert knowledge of different aspects of the problems involved, like international lawyers, medical men and social scientists, from many countries have given their support and contributed to the work by written statements or by taking part in the discussion in your eleven commissions.

Though for practical reasons the participants in the Conference have had to be kept to a rather limited number, 350 I think, there is no question of the unusually broad basis of the Conference. It has truly been a world Conference.

The Vietnamese people has been represented by persons coming from the North of Vietnam and also by representatives from the Liberation Front in the South, keeping up the struggle against the American intrusion army and that of the American puppet government in Saigon. Personally I regret that there has been no participation from those groups of Buddhists and others in the part of Vietnam, that is controlled by the American army and the military puppet government in Saigon, who, against the heavy odds of living in a police state, have kept their minds free and their thoughts directed upon the time when the intruders have gone and the Vietnamese people are allowed to take their destiny into their own hands.

I would at the end of this Conference want to express my hope which I know is shared by many of the participants, that means will be found for closer contact and constructive discussion between the Liberation Front and these other groups in the presently occupied part of Southern Vietnam, who as patriots are waging the difficult fight against the imposed military regime. If this Conference can have contributed to making such a contact more possible in the future, this would have been no small accomplishment.

Before I go further, I want to make a personal declaration. The accidents of my life and work have brought me to know and love America well. As I have often explained, America is my second spiritual fatherland. Over the years I have often taken part in the discussion of political issues in America, more than any other European in this generation. With my background I have found this to be natural as have the Americans themselves. I am, in fact, in very much the same situation as our American friends present at this Conference. Though we are opposed to the United States Government's Vietnam war policy, any attempt to classify me, or them, as "anti

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American" falls to the ground as ridiculous.

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The same is true of the Swedish people. I have said, and I want to repeat it, that in this country which has been the host country of the Conference, there is hardly a trace of basic anti-Americanism. There are many things explaining the basic pro-Americanism of Sweden; the close contacts established on the popular level by many decades of heavy emigration to America up till the first world war - thereafter there has been a net immigration from America to Sweden -; the fact that over a century we have had the same - or, if we correct for the economic effects of migration - a higher rate of economic expansion than America, and that now we are as rich as America, and have therefore never needed to ask for any financial or military aid; and many other similarities in the whole cultural development and the present situation, here and in America.

Nevertheless, practically the whole Swedish people condemns the United States war policy in Vietnam. When the parliament some few months ago had a foreign policy debate, not only the government but the leaders of all the political parties - from the Conservatives to the Communists - demanded that the United States government should stop bombing North Vietnam. The government has meanwhile forbidden exports of armaments to the United States as a disturber of the peace. Neither the government nor the opposition parties would dare to take another position, as this would be contrary to what the people feel and think. For this is a democracy, where the people are sovereign.

Though the situation is less clear-cut in some other West European countries, many of whose governments are entangled in military alliances with, and financial dependence upon, the United States government, the peoples are increasingly becoming critical of the American war policy in Vietnam. No West European government would for their own people dare to send a squadron to help the United States army in Vietnam. The position of France is as clear-cut as that of Sweden, even on the government level. In this particular question de Gaulle really represents the whole nation.

Except for some client states in the areas of South Eastern Asia, the same is broadly true all over the world.

This increasing world-wide political and moral isolation of America is not realised by the broad layers of the American people. They read in their newspapers about demonstrations and flag-burnings everywhere in the world, but believe that they can throw it aside as unimportant. For the same things are happening every week in America itself, while they know from the opinion surveys that perhaps two-thirds of the Americans are backing the Johnson government's war policy, or, indeed, wanting it to escalate even more, and more rapidly.

What they are not informed about by their newspapers or anybody else is the solid protestation against the American war policy in Vietnam among the peoples of the world on all continents. I consider this a serious fault of the American press and other news media which otherwise are so free. To them demonstrations and flag-burnings are news, but apparently not the much more important trends of public opinion abroad. These trends can in many countries - as in Sweden - be observed from regular opinion polls. There are also other ways

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of measuring it, once interest is directed upon this crucially important matter. The result is that the Americans are left unaware of their increasing moral and political isolation.

I cannot stress strongly enough the importance of making the American people aware of how people abroad look on their government's war policy in Vietnam. I would wish that this Conference would contribute to such an awareness, and that various activities sponsored by, or flowing from, the Conference in our several countries will do it.

The small group of people around President Johnson who are running this undeclared, large-scale and cruel war on the Asian continent are poisoned by their own rhetorics and their own propaganda, and by their need to defend all the mistakes they have already committed and are committing in an escalating measure. Foreign policy tends even in a democracy like the United States to become more centrally directed and totalitarian than internal policy. This is so for many reasons that it would take me too long to elaborate in this brief address. And there is unfortunately nothing in the democratic process which assures that the persons elected and appointed to be in charge of foreign policy are competent for their job, least of all without the check of an enlightened public opinion.

This is demonstrated by what has happened after President Johnson's election. There is a tragic lack of perspective and of capability to utilise what knowledge on Asia there is in the United States. As this group are driven to tamper with truth, they are coming further and further away from political realism.

As honest men are not simply lying, their minds become concocted, which becomes demonstrated by the "credibility gap" that nobody can avoid observing. But as they are in charge of a tremendous propaganda apparatus, and as they can rely on silence, if not agreement, from a great number of their better informed compatriots, the larger part of the American people remain as misled as the small group at the steering wheel have become themselves. That their rhetorics and false propaganda leaves the whole world unconvinced is the essence of the moral and political isolation of America, which has been stressed in this world conference.

Backing them up is also what former President Eisenhower called the "military-industrial complex" and various nationalistic and reactionary pressure groups, of which there has always been plenty in America, and which now are given a field day.

I have since some time given up the hope of bringing the group in Washington that is now the motor of the war in Vietnam, to reason. They are too deeply committed, their minds are closed and, as I said, perverted by their own rhetorics and propaganda.

The only thing which can bring a change is, if the American people can be brought to see the immensity of its government's mistakes in Vietnam. In no country I know, is the government - and I mean both the Congress and the President - more sensitive for public opinion than in America.

And one effective way of bringing about this change of public opinion in America would be if the common man was made aware of how people abroad look upon the American war policy in Vietnam, aware of America's increasing moral and political isolation.

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And this is, of course, the reason why the spokesmen for the United States government are so ardent in their false rhetorics and their propaganda - and the reason why the American people has become so protected by all news media from coming to know how people feel and think abroad.

There is a tremendous barrage of skilfully nursed misapprehensions raised against bringing this knowledge to the American people. Nevertheless, it is our duty to climb that barrage and to enlighten the American people how we look upon the American war policy in Vietnam.

This is the essential task of this Conference, as I see it, and our continued work, wherever we are placed, when this Conference is now over.

It is not in anger - least of all against the American people - I am giving this analysis of the situation in America. It is in sorrow and deep anxiety. We who are the tried and tested friends of America are aware that the Vietnam war is not only bringing unbearable sufferings to the Vietnamese people, who are maimed and killed, often by the most barbarian means of modern American technology, and whose little property is destroyed - when they are not corrupted and made to be prostitutes. These sufferings are crying to heaven. But we know also that the war, the longer it goes on, is inflicting grave damage to America itself - indeed damage to America's soul, damage that cannot be accounted for in terms of dollars or lives lost or bodies lacerated.

The moral climate is rapidly deteriorating as people get accustomed to witness - literally in their own homes from the television screen - and be complacent about barbarous actions against human beings. Violence, and indifference to violence, is spreading, and disrespect for human integrity is threatening to become a part of western culture. This particular effect is not restricted to America but is creeping upon us everywhere.

In America the economy is distorted, which may be a minor effect of war that a rich country could take in its stride if that were the only effect. But with it follows also the feeling in Congress and among the people that the rising military expenditure is straining the fiscal structure so that there is no room left for important social reforms.

I have said that the imposing American mansion is a heavily mortgaged piece of real property, as literally trillions of dollars will have to be spent, and spent soon, in order to rebuild almost all the cities and to rehabilitate the human inside of the American slums. If America wants to prevent a break down of its social order - and the loss of political democracy - these huge expenditures are simply necessary; they are not just the dreams of do-gooders.

What we see happening today, however, is that the reform activity, planned by the late President Kennedy and begun on a small, experimental scale by President Johnson - and by him given the challenging name of the "unconditional war against poverty" and the attainment of the "great society" - is now coming to a grinding halt. The civil rights movement is virtually stopped,

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and the idea is spreading that the blind rebellion among the semi-literate and unemployed youth in the American slums shall be held down by more police power instead of reforms that go to the roots of the rebellion.

To explain the retreat on the reform front at home in America, it is not enough to point to the rising military expenditure and the feeling of financial strain. All wars, but particularly a "dirty war", as the Americans call it, like the Vietnam war breeds reactionary sentiments. I should not be honest with you if I concealed my fear, that if this "dirty war" is not soon stopped but goes on for years - some among the military have talked about a decade or more - the final effect may be a moral deterioration of the United States to become a thoroughly reactionary country, substituting police power, at home as well as abroad, for reforms in line with what I have called the "American Creed", that is the glorious ideals from Enlightenment which is the basis for our vision of a future society in the whole civilized world.

When we protest against the American war policy in Vietnam we are doing so because we are impelled by our conscience. We find what the American troops are doing, on the order of their government and, until now, with the backing of a misled majority of the American people, to very poor people in a backward country a moral horror without any parallels in history. But those of us who are sincere friends of America are equally appalled by what the Vietnam war is doing to the American people. Stopping this insane war is necessary to save the Vietnamese peoples bodies. It is equally necessary to save the souls of the Americans.

Let me end my closing address to the Stockholm World Conference on Vietnam by telling you about a conversation I had with an American friend the last time I visited America a few weeks ago. My friend has in various public duties made contributions to America and the world which place him among the ten or twenty Americans who are rightly considered as having deserved a great name. His heart is now tragically split: between a consciousness of the madness of his government's war policy in Vietnam and a lingering reluctance - in my opinion wrong - to come out openly against the policy of the American government, that he has served during a life time in ever higher positions. He is now 75 years old.

"I was a soldier", he said, "in the first world war. I had no troubles with my conscience. I knew that I was doing the right thing.

"My sons were soldiers in the second world war; one was killed. They had no troubles with their conscience, they knew they were doing the right thing.

"Now my grandsons are going to be drafted for service in the American army in Vietnam. At least two are going to be conscientious objectors. And the others are not going to have a good conscience. They will not be able to feel sure that they are doing the right thing."

This is a tale which could be repeated by men of his generation in thousands and thousands of American homes. To me it illustrates the tragic moral situation the Johnson government has brought the American people into.

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APPENDIX

1.

AMERICAN INSTITUTE FOR MARXIST STUDIES

A source advised on April 9, 1963, that on April 7, 1963, at a meeting of the District Committee of the Communist Party, United States of America (CPUSA), of New England, held in Boston, Massachusetts, HERBERT APTHEKER stated he was developing an organization called American Institute for Marxist Studies (AIMS), which would eventually legalize the CP. He stated AIMS would publish literature on History, Science, Physics, Archeology and other subjects which would be put out quarterly with various supplements.

A second source advised on June 30, 1966, that HERBERT APTHEKER was elected to the National Committee, CPUSA, at the 18th National Convention of the CPUSA, held June 22-26, 1966, in New York City.

A third source advised on June 7, 1963, that on June 3, 1963, HERBERT APTHEKER spoke at the CPUSA, New York District Board meeting concerning AIMS. APTHEKER stated that AIMS would unite and strengthen the CP although the CP would not be connected with it. He stated AIMS was being formed to operate within the scope of the McCarran and Smith Acts and would legally bring Marxist material and opinions to the attention of American scholars and the general public.

A fourth source reported on August 29, 1966, that AIMS issues a "Newsletter" every other month. This source also made available the information that AIMS issues publications and holds symposiums concerning Marxism.

A fifth source advised on May 9, 1967, that as of that date, AIMS was located on the fifth floor west of 20 West 30th Street, New York, New York.

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APPENDIX

1.

EMERGENCY CIVIL LIBERTIES COMMITTEE

The "Guide to Subversive Organizations and Publications," revised and published as of December 1, 1961, prepared and released by the Committee on Un-American Activities, United States House of Representatives, Washington, D.C., contains the following concerning the Emergency Civil Liberties Committee:

"Emergency Civil Liberties Committee

- "1. 'The Emergency Civil Liberties Committee is an organization with headquarters in New York, whose avowed purpose is to abolish the House Committee on Un-American Activities and discredit the FBI. * * * The committee finds that the Emergency Civil Liberties Committee, established in 1951, although representing itself as a non-Communist group, actually operates as a front for the Communist Party. It has repeatedly assisted, by means of funds and legal aid, Communists involved in Smith Act violations and similar legal proceedings. One of its chief activities has been and still is the dissemination of voluminous Communist propaganda material.'

'FRANK WILKINSON was called as a witness when he appeared in Atlanta as a representative of the Emergency Civil Liberties Committee to propagandize against the Committee on Un-American Activities and to protest its hearings. In 1956 WILKINSON was identified as a Communist Party member by a former FBI undercover agent within the Party. Summoned at that time to answer the allegation, his reply to all questions was, "I am answering no questions of this committee." This also became his stock reply to questions when he appeared during the Atlanta hearings. * * * WILKINSON has since been convicted of contempt of Congress and sentenced to one year in jail.

APPENDIX

2.

EMERGENCY CIVIL LIBERTIES COMMITTEE (CONT'D)

'Disputing the non-Communist claim of the organization, the committee finds that a number of other individuals connected with the ECLC also have been identified under oath as Communists.

* * *

(Committee on Un-American Activities, Annual Report for 1958, House Report 187, March 9, 1959, pp. 34 and 35.)

'To defend the cases of Communist law-breakers, fronts have been devised making special appeals in behalf of civil liberties and reaching out far beyond the confines of the Communist Party itself. Among these organizations are the * * * Emergency Civil Liberties Committee. When the Communist Party itself is under fire these fronts offer a bulwark of protection.'

(Internal Security Subcommittee of the Senate Judiciary Committee, Handbook for Americans, S. Doc. 117, April 23, 1956, p. 91.)"

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APPENDIX

1.

FREE SCHOOL OF NEW YORK

The "New York Times," a daily newspaper published in New York City, contained an article in its July 11, 1965, issue entitled, "Radicals Set Up Own University". The article indicated that this school, called the Free University of New York (FUNY), opened on the previous Tuesday in an old loft building at 20 East 14th Street, New York City, and reportedly had 210 students registered. The article also indicated that the funds for establishing the FUNY and funds for its operation were supplied in part by non-salaried faculty members, most of whom contributed \$30 each and also by the students who pay \$24 for each eight-week course.

The May 28, 1965 issue of "Newsday", a daily Long Island, New York, newspaper, contained an article entitled, "Krebs To Open His Own School". This article related that ALLEN KREBS, a former Adelphi University professor who claimed he was fired from Adelphi University for his avowed Marxist views, was planning to open a university of his own in a rented Manhattan, New York, loft.

The "New York Times", in its issue dated December 12, 1965, contained an article entitled "Students Of Left Set Up Colleges". This article indicated that a number of "Counter-Universities" or "Anti-Universities" have been established in various cities throughout the United States like the FUNY. The article mentioned that these institutions vary in many ways. Some are operated under the auspices of a specific organization belonging to the so-called "New Left"; however, others like the FUNY say they are independent of any organization and try to offer courses of a broader cultural orientation.

A source advised on March 14, 1966, that ALLEN KREBS, an expelled former secret member of the Progressive Labor Party (PLP), is the Director of the FUNY.

The same source advised on February 23, 1966, that the FUNY was originally meant to be a loose arm of the PLP (even though all individuals from pacifists to Trotskyites

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APPENDIX

2.

FREE SCHOOL OF NEW YORK (CONTINUED)

were allowed to teach), but the PLP members in control of the FUNY have removed it as such. The source indicated that during January, 1966, KREBS removed permission for a PLP high school group to meet at the FUNY, causing rumblings that he was breaching Party discipline.

The Spring, 1967, Catalog from the FUNY reveals on the cover that the name of the school has been changed to the Free School of New York with an explanation that "State law prohibits use of the term 'University' without proof of \$500,000 in assets."

The above catalog contains a list of 30 courses ranging from discussions of various radical movements, classes on Marxism, Fascism, labor movements, racial prejudices, to classes on Vietnam, MAO TSE TUNG and self defense.

A characterization of the PLP is set out separately.

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1.

LAWYERS COMMITTEE ON AMERICAN
POLICY TOWARDS VIETNAM

The "Congressional Record" of September 23, 1965, contains a memorandum on the international law aspects of the Vietnam War. This memorandum criticizes, from a legal viewpoint, the United States intervention in Vietnam. This memorandum was prepared by the Lawyers Committee on American Policy Towards Vietnam (LCAPTIV).

The "Congressional Record" sets forth the address of the LCAPTIV as 38 Park Row, New York, New York, and lists as officers:

WILLIAM STANDARD	Chairman
CAREY MC WILLIAMS	Vice-Chairman
JOSEPH H. CROWN	Secretary

During 1953, MAURICE MALKIN, an admitted former member of the Communist Party (CP), from 1919 to 1936, advised that during the 1930s, WILLIAM LOUIS STANDARD was a member of the CP.

LOUIS BUDENZ, former Managing Editor of the "Daily Worker", an East Coast Communist newspaper, which suspended publication on January 13, 1958, advised in 1950, that CAREY MC WILLIAMS was under CP discipline from 1939 through 1945.

The February, 1965, issue of "Rights", a publication of the Emergency Civil Liberties Committee (ECLC), lists JOSEPH H. CROWN as a member of the National Council of the ECLC.

"Rights" and the ECLC have been characterized separately.

On November 3, 1965, a Special Agent of the Federal Bureau of Investigation (SA, FBI) ascertained from JOSEPH H. CROWN, 250 Park Avenue, New York City, by means of a suitable pretext, that the LCAPTIV is a group of lawyers, who got together in the Summer of 1965, to prepare a legal brief and to put this brief in the "Congressional Record". This brief is, according to CROWN, on the national law and constitutional law aspects of American "intervention" in Vietnam, and deals with the illegality of this intervention. CROWN stated that this is an ad-hoc type committee, one of the purposes of which is to get an ad placed in the "New York Times" on the Vietnam issue.

A source advised on April 13, 1967, that the LCAPTIV located in Room 606, 38 Park Row, New York, New York.

APPENDIX

1.

NATIONAL COMMITTEE TO ABOLISH THE
HOUSE UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES
COMMITTEE KNOWN IN THE NEW YORK
CITY AREA AS THE NEW YORK FRIENDS
OF THE NATIONAL COMMITTEE TO
ABOLISH THE HOUSE UN-AMERICAN
ACTIVITIES COMMITTEE

A source advised that on December 15, 1965, it was decided by the Executive Committee of the New York Council to Abolish the House Un-American Activities Committee (NYCAHUAC) to dissolve and turn over its work in the New York City area to the National Committee to Abolish the House Un-American Activities Committee (NCAHUAC).

According to the source, the NCAHUAC established at that time a group called the New York Friends of the NCAHUAC (NYF). The source stated that NYF would handle all abolition work in the New York City area and would engage primarily in political and fund-raising activities.

The source advised that as of April 13, 1967, the NYF was utilizing Post Office Box 423, Cathedral Station, New York, New York, as its mailing address.

Characterizations of the NYCAHUAC and the NCAHUAC are set out separately.

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APPENDIX

1.

NEW YORK SCHOOL FOR MARXIST STUDIES, INC.

In September, 1960, a source advised it was announced at a meeting of the Communist Party, United States of America (CP, USA), New York District (NYD), Staff, held September 16, 1960, that the People's School for Marxist Studies was founded in September, 1960, as the result of a decision of the CP, USA, NYD. Adult classes were scheduled to start October 17, 1960.

"The Worker", an east coast Communist newspaper, October 16, 1960, issue, announced the opening of the New York School for Marxist Studies (NYSMS) with general classes beginning October 17, 1960, and SCOPE (Youth) Classes beginning October 14, 1960. The address of the school is Room 1922, 853 Broadway at 14th Street, New York, New York.

The records of Pierce Mayer and Greer, 41 East 42nd Street, New York City, reflect that on August 29, 1960, HERBERT APTHEKER leased Room 1922-23, 853 Broadway, New York City, for the period starting October 1, 1960. The premises were to be occupied by a "People's School". On July 3, 1962, HERBERT APTHEKER signed a new lease for Room 1922-23, 853 Broadway, New York City, to start October 1, 1962, which reflects that the premises were to be used as an office for the NYSMS.

On May 5, 1965, the records of the New York County Clerk's Office, New York County Court House, New York City, disclosed that Certificate of Incorporation, number 450745, of the NYSMS was filed with the Secretary of State, State of New York, August 17, 1964, and the incorporator was VICTOR PERLO.

The Spring (April 13, 1966-May 25, 1966) Term, 1966, Bulletin of the NYSMS and SCOPE states that the NYSMS "offers to young and old, workers and students, the opportunity to study the major issues and ideas of the world we live in as analyzed from a Marxist viewpoint. It is our belief that Marxism can provide answers for the problems and perspectives for social change in the United States."

APPENDIX

2.

NEW YORK SCHOOL FOR MARXIST STUDIES, INC.

The Spring Term, 1967 Bulletin of the NYSMS and SCOPE reflects that the office of the NYSMS is located at 853 Broadway, Room 2022, New York, New York.

A second source advised on December 14, 1959, that at the 17th National Convention of the CP, USA, held December 10-13, 1959, HERBERT APTHEKER was elected a member of the National Committee of the CP, USA.

The second source advised in early 1961 that it was not known at the headquarters of the CP, USA, whether VICTOR PERLO was still a member of the CP. Consequently, he was described as an "unorganized Communist".

A characterization of SCOPE is included in the Appendix.

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APPENDIX

1.

"RIGHTS"

The "Guide to Subversive Organizations and Publications", revised and published December 1, 1961, prepared and released by the Committee on Un-American Activities, United States House of Representatives, Washington, D.C., contains the following concerning "Rights":

"1. 'A 'Communist front publication' which is 'published monthly in New York by the Emergency Civil Liberties Committee.'"

(Committee on Un-American Activities, Annual Report for 1958, House Report 187, March 9, 1959, p. 10.)

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APPENDIX

1.

STUDENT COMMITTEE FOR TRAVEL TO
CUBA (SCTC); PERMANENT STUDENT
COMMITTEE FOR TRAVEL TO CUBA (PSCTC);
AD HOC STUDENT COMMITTEE FOR TRAVEL
TO CUBA (AHSCTC)

"The Columbia Owl", a weekly student newspaper of Columbia University, New York, New York, dated December 12, 1962, page one, contained an article entitled, "Students to Visit Cuba During Holidays". This article stated in part that the AHSCTC was formed October 14, 1962.

A source advised on September 13, 1963, that during the Summer of 1963, fifty-nine individuals traveled to Cuba; that the leaders of the group were members of the Progressive Labor Movement (PLM) and that the trip was planned and organized by PLM members.

On March 12, 1965, PHILLIP ABBOTT LUCE, a self-admitted member of the SCTC Executive Committee and the PLM National Coordinating Committee, advised the SCTC was formerly known as the PSCTC and the AHSCTC. He stated he was a leader of the 1963 trip to Cuba, an organizer of the 1964 trip, and that both trips were sponsored by the SCTC. As of the Spring of 1964, the members of the SCTC Executive Committee were considered members of the PLM. No SCTC sponsored trip was made in 1965.

On February 3, 1967, a second source advised that the SCTC was defunct.

The Progressive Labor Party (PLP)
which contains information concerning
the PLM, is characterized separately.

APPENDIX

1.

STUDENT COMMITTEE ON
PROGRESSIVE EDUCATION (SCOPE)

A confidential source advised on June 16, 1958, that the Student Committee on Progressive Education (SCOPE) was formed in early 1958, by a group of individuals who were believed to be, by the source, sympathizers of the former Labor Youth League (LYL).

The LYL has been designated pursuant to Executive Order 10450.

A second confidential source advised on November 20, 1958, that at the third day's session of the National Executive Committee (NEC), Communist Party (CP), USA, held that day in New York City, ROBERT THOMPSON, Executive Secretary, CP, USA, stated that in New York there is a group of about twenty one youths who have been a very active force in youth and formed a group called SCOPE, a Student Committee on Progressive Education, which has run for the last year with young people, with a Marxist character. THOMPSON stated that approximately eight or ten of this group are CP members.

A third confidential source advised on March 24, 1959, that during a meeting of the NEC, CP, USA, held on March 21, 1959, HYMAN LUMER, CP, USA, Educational Director, stated that in New York most of the discussions on youth are between the National Office (CP) and two groups of young people who function in New York, which are either Party groups or pro-Party groups. The first group is called SCOPE (Student Committee on Progressive Education), and this group stands closest to the CP leadership.

A fourth confidential source made available on March 23, 1961, a mimeographed letter signed by "The SCOPE Committee." This letter sets forth that last Fall SCOPE became a part of the newly formed New York School for Marxist Studies (NYSMS) as its autonomous youth division.

The April (April 13, 1966-May 25, 1966) Term 1966 Bulletin of the NYSMS and SCOPE stated that "SCOPE believes that knowledge can be achieved and intellectual conformity and apathy avoided only through continual study and discussion.

APPENDIX

2.

STUDENT COMMITTEE ON
PROGRESSIVE EDUCATION (SCOPE)

All students; teenagers; college students; and working youth are encouraged to participate actively, as the goal of SCOPE is to provide a unique opportunity for the study and discussion of Marxism."

The Spring term, 1967 Bulletin of the NYSMS and SCOPE reflects that the office of SCOPE is located at 853 Broadway, Room 2022, New York, New York.

A characterization of the NYSMS appears separately.

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APPENDIX1.STUDENTS FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY

The Students for a Democratic Society (SDS), as it is known today, came into being at a founding convention held at Port Huron, Michigan, in June, 1962. The SDS is an association of young people on the left and has a current program of protesting the draft, promoting a campaign for youth to develop a conscientious objector status, denouncing United States intervention in the war in Vietnam and to "radically transform" the university community, and provide for its complete control by students. GUS HALL, General Secretary, Communist Party, USA, when interviewed by a representative of United Press International in San Francisco, California, on May 14, 1965, described the SDS as a part of the "responsible left" which the Party has "going for us." At the June, 1965, SDS National Convention, an anti-Communist proviso was removed from the SDS Constitution. In the October 7, 1966, issue of "New Left Notes," the official publication of SDS, an SDS spokesman stated that there are some Communists in SDS and they are welcome. The national headquarters of this organization as of April 18, 1967, was located in Room 206, 1608 West Madison Street, Chicago, Illinois.

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APPENDIX

1.

TRI-CONTINENTAL INFORMATION CENTER

A source advised on February 18, 1967, that on that date, during an Executive Board meeting of the Communist Party (CP), Minneapolis, Minnesota, it was announced that MIKE MYERSON was forming an anti-imperialist center (Tri-Continental Information Center).

A second source advised on June 30, 1966, that MIKE MYERSON attended the 18th National Convention of the CP, United States of America (CP,USA), held in New York City (NYC), from June 22, 1966, to June 26, 1966, as a non-Party visitor from Brooklyn, New York.

A copy of Volume I, Number I, May, 1967, issue of the "Tri-Continental Information Center Bulletin" (TCICB), published by the Tri-Continental Information Center (TCIC), listed MIKE MYERSON and JOAN LEVENSON as Editors.

A third source advised on March 6, 1967, that JOAN LEVENSON attended a New York County CP "Peace Caucus," held on March 3, 1967, in Academy Hall, 853 Broadway, NYC.

The above-mentioned issue of the TCICB contained an article entitled "Tri-Continental Information Center Founded" which stated in part as follows:

"The Tri-Continental Information Center has been established to raise, through education and information, an anti-imperialist consciousness in the United States -- particularly within the growing movements for peace, human rights and democracy.

"The Center has built up contacts and exchange of publications with anti-imperialist organizations and movements throughout the world, and will publish a monthly

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~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

APPENDIX

2.

TRI-CONTINENTAL INFORMATION CENTER (CONTINUED)

bulletin on international developments. It will collect and disseminate historical and current data on areas suffering from US colonialism and neo-colonialism. It will publish pamphlets, and in some cases books.

"It will send fact-finding missions to such areas as Indonesia, Puerto Rico and Thailand and will arrange US tours for speakers from liberation movements around the world. It will also plan conferences to discuss these questions among mass audiences. And it will aid publicity for various international initiatives -- conferences, boycotts, petition campaigns or fund drives -- to combat and debilitate US foreign policy."

A fourth source advised on May 11, 1967, that the TCIC, which is located in Room 640, 1133 Broadway, NYC, was formed by MIKE MYERSON and is a CP front organization supported by CP funds.

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~~CONFIDENTIAL~~APPENDIX1.W.E.B. DU BOIS CLUBS OF AMERICA (DCA)

A source has advised that on October 26-27, 1963, a conference of members of the Communist Party (CP), including national functionaries, met in Chicago, Illinois, for the purpose of setting in motion forces for the establishment of a new national Marxist-oriented youth organization which would hunt for the most peaceful transition to socialism. The delegates were told that it would be reasonable to assume that the young socialists attracted into this new organization would eventually pass into the CP itself.

A second source has advised that the founding convention for the new youth organization was held from June 19-21, 1964, at 150 Golden Gate Avenue, San Francisco, California, at which time the name W.E.B. DuBois Clubs of America (DCA) was adopted. Approximately 500 delegates from throughout the United States attended this convention. The aims of this organization, as set forth in the preamble to the constitution, are: "It is our belief that this nation can best solve its problems in an atmosphere of peaceful coexistence, complete disarmament and true freedom for all peoples of the world, and that these solutions will be reached mainly through the united efforts of all democratic elements in our country, composed essentially of the working people allied in the unity of Negroes and other minorities with whites. We further fully recognize that the greatest threat to American democracy comes from the racist and right wing forces in coalition with the most reactionary sections of the economic power structure, using the tool of anti-Communism to divide and destroy the unified struggle of the working people."

Over the Labor Day weekend, 1965, the DCA held a conference in Chicago, Illinois, and a new slate of officers was elected to the National Executive Committee (NEC) of the DCA. Since Labor Day, 1965, identities of those serving on the NEC has varied; however, according to a third source as of May, 1966, thirteen of the fifteen members of the NEC were members of the CP in the San Francisco Bay area.

As of July, 1966, the headquarters of the DCA was located at 180 North Wacker Drive, Chicago, Illinois.

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Stockholm Conference on Vietnam

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1.

APPENDIX

WORLD FELLOWSHIP, INC. (WFI),
aka. World Fellowship Center

The records of the Office of the Secretary of State of Illinois, show that WFI submitted Articles of Incorporation on October 13, 1936. The Annual Report of WFI, dated March 5, 1959, lists WILLARD UPHAUS as Executive Director, Secretary, and Acting Treasurer, 66 Edgewood Avenue, New Haven, Conn. The character of the affairs which the corporation is actually conducting is listed as "occasional publications, summer conferences at World Fellowship Center in New Hampshire, Executive Director travels to speak and organize activities for justice and peace."

On July 24, 1963, a source described World Fellowship Center, Albany, New Hampshire, as definitely pro-Communist in attitudes and objectives, based on their programs and speakers of known Communist and Communist front backgrounds appearing there, which programs and speakers have been critical of the U. S. Government and its policies as opposed to praiseworthy pronouncements of the concepts of governments in the Soviet Union and its allies, notably China.

WILLARD UPHAUS was sentenced to one-year imprisonment for contempt of court on December 14, 1959, in Merrimack County Superior Court, New Hampshire, for refusal to produce records identifying individuals who attended the World Fellowship Center, Conway, New Hampshire, during 1954 and 1955. The New Hampshire Attorney General said many of these individuals were affiliated with groups "officially designated as Communist infiltrated or controlled," and requested their identities in connection with an investigation of subversive activities in the State of New Hampshire. UPHAUS was released from Merrimack County House of

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Stockholm Conference on Vietnam

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2.

APPENDIX

WORLD FELLOWSHIP, INC. (WFI),
aka. World Fellowship Center

Correction, Boscawen, New Hampshire, on December 11, 1960.

A second source advised on March 28, 1960, that plans had been announced for a building program for WFI summer camp which would represent a monument to the sacrifice WILLARD UPHAUS has made in connection with his work for WFI, and his struggle with the courts resulting in his imprisonment. According to this source, contributions were being solicited to the World Fellowship Building Fund for this purpose with a goal in Connecticut of \$35,000.

A third source, on April 30, 1966, provided literature of the WFI which revealed its winter headquarters at 66 Edgewood Ave., New Haven, and summer headquarters at Conway, New Hampshire. This literature also announced that the summer program of the World Fellowship Camp at Conway, New Hampshire, was scheduled to commence on June 10, 1966, and would continue through September 7, 1966.

A fourth source, on April 3, 1964, advised that as of March, 1964, WILLARD UPHAUS was listed among the founding sponsors of the American Institute for Marxist Studies.

The American Institute for Marxist Studies is characterized separately.

A fifth source, on December 6, 1965, identified "Doctor WILLARD UPHAUS" as one of the national co-chairmen of the American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born.

The American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born has been designated pursuant to Executive Order 10450.

CONFIDENTIAL



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

New York, New York

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

JUL 27 1967

Bufile 100-447368
NY file 100-160016

Title Stockholm Conference on Vietnam

Character Internal Security - C

Reference is made to New York memorandum
dated and captioned as above.

All sources (except any listed below) whose
identities are concealed in referenced communication have
furnished reliable information in the past.

This document contains neither recommendations nor
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EVOLUTIONARIES OF 3 CONTINENTS TO DISCUSS COOPERATION

World anti-imperialists meet in Cuba Jan. 3-10

Special to the Guardian

HAVANA

THIS CITY's 30-story, 630-room Havana Libre hotel, an oasis for North American playboys and gangsters when it was the Havana Hilton, will be filled with revolutionary leaders of three colonial continents from Jan. 3 to 10. The conference for which they are gathering from all parts of Asia, Africa and Latin America will be held in the hotel's Salon de Embajadores, which accommodates 1,200.

The Tri-Continental Solidarity Conference marks the full recognition by the world's anti-imperialist forces of Latin America as a colonized area which must fight for its liberation. Revolutionary Cuba has maintained good relations with both the U.S.S.R. and China, and both are sending delegations. The event has been played up in the Soviet press. Cubans believe its usefulness for still-unliberated countries will depend considerably on the extent to which participants can forge a broad basis for cooperation, restraining tendencies to present their own particular formulae as universally applicable.

SPOKESMEN FOR revolutionary organizations in countries where armed liberation struggles are now going on, from Venezuela and Guatemala to Vietnam, will be heard with special interest. Focusing especially on Vietnam, the Dominican Republic, Congo, Portuguese co-

lonies, southern Rhodesia, south Arabia and Palestine, the conference will discuss the complex problems of bringing all these struggles to a successful conclusion through world anti-imperialist cooperation. Also on the agenda are action against South African apartheid, liquidation of foreign bases everywhere, and the fight against the use, production, testing and storing of nuclear weapons.

In a preliminary visit here last October, Moroccan people's leader El Mahdi Ben Barka, chairman of the preparatory committee, said the event would be historic because it would bring together both of the world revolutionary currents: that which sprang from the October socialist revolution in Russia, and that of the revolution of national liberation. He added that Cuba had been chosen for it because the peoples of all three continents owed that country a debt, and that "meeting 90 miles from imperialism will have great resonance."

But another Moroccan, Yusef Elsebail, has stepped into the chairmanship following Ben Barka's disappearance on Oct. 29. He was kidnaped in broad daylight in Paris's Latin Quarter, and has not been heard of since despite apparently intensive investigation by the French police, who have several suspects in jail. Friends of Ben Barka see the CIA's hand in the affair and accuse Moroccan Interior Minister Gen.

Mohamed Oufkir (who was in Paris Oct. 29), Security Police Chief Maj. Dlimi, and possibly King Hassan of complicity. Ben Barka's friends say that in Morocco—Africa's most U.S.-oriented country—the security police work with 62 CIA and FBI "specialists" including a "Mr. Thomas" who, passing as a surgical instrument dealer, compiles dossiers on Moroccans for the CIA and collaborates with former Nazi intelligence agents in that country.

ALL THAT IS KNOWN is that two French policemen, now in jail "arrested" Ben Barka and took him to the house of a gangster named Boucheseche

in Fontenay le Vicomte in an Air France vehicle driven by Antonio Lopez, a Spanish official of the airline at Orly airport. Lopez, also now in jail, is known as a distributor of largesse of unknown source. The policemen said they took Ben Barka to Boucheseche's house "for an interview with Gen. Oufkir" at the request of Lopez, whom they "knew to belong to a secret service."

They declared: "Of course we realized that a Moroccan minister like Oufkir could not carry out a kidnaping himself." Boucheseche vanished and later wrote letters to Paris newspapers, postmarked in West Germany, denying any connection with the affair. As for Lopez, who may have arranged for Ben Barka's removal to Morocco, nothing has been divulged as to the results of his questioning in jail.

Ben Barka's friends fear he may be dead, but the kidnaping only served to draw attention to the imperialists' interest in the Tri-Continental Conference. It remains to be seen whether the U.S. press will give the conference the same near-blackout treatment it gave the kidnaping. Certainly that will not happen if sparks fly between the Soviet and Chinese delegations in the Havana Libre.

(Indicate page, name of newspaper, city and state.)

P# 3

NATIONAL GUARDIAN

N.Y., NEW YORK

Date: January 1 1966
Edition: /
Author:
Editor:
Title:

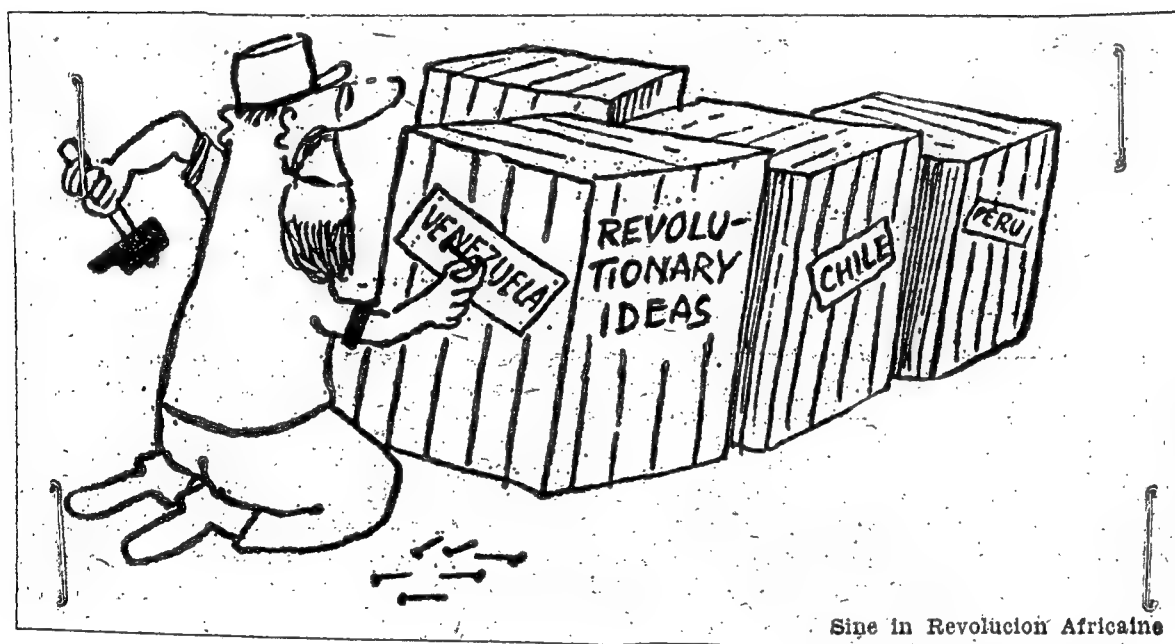
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Submitting Office:

☐ Being Investigated

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JAN 7 1966
FBI - SAN FRANCISCO

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(Mount Clipping in Space Below)

NEW YORK PROJECT

**Anti-imperialist center
for information set up**

THE TRI-CONTINENTAL Information Center has been set up in New York to develop "an anti-imperialist consciousness among the American people," especially within the movements for peace, human rights and democracy.

The center is in contact with anti-imperialist movements throughout the world and plans to sponsor speaking tours in the U.S. for representatives of these liberation movements. A fall conference on imperialism in the Caribbean and organization of U.S. participation in the world conference against the Vietnam war to be held in Stockholm in July are among its activities being planned.

Sponsors of the center include Franklin Alexander, chairman of the W.E.B. DuBois Clubs; Donna Allen of Women Strike for Peace; Douglas Dowd, head of the Inter-University Committee and a professor at Cornell University; Maxwell Geismar, literary critic; Sidney Lens, labor leader; Lincoln Lynch of CORE; Benjamin Spock; and Rev. Willard Uphaus of World Fellowship.

The group's purpose in founding a center is "to bring home to the American people the contradiction between what they have always believed and the facts as they are."

The first issue of a bulletin containing news of the center's activities and of freedom movements throughout the world was published this month. It can be ordered from the center, 1133 Broadway, Room 640, New York, N.Y. 10010, for a minimum contribution of \$3.

(Indicate page, name of newspaper, city and state.)

NATIONAL GUARDIAN

N.Y., NEW YORK

Date: May 13, 1967

Edition:

Author:

Editor:

Title:

Character:

or

Classification:

Submitting Office:

S.F.

☐ Being Investigated

105-20315-105
100-57306-39165 #7
100-0-98961 (1/66)
100-52152-900 11/66

Consolidated into 100-59308
8/22/67

100-0-98961-A

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MAY 23 1967	
FBI - SAN FRANCISCO	

TRI-CONTINENTAL INFORMATION CENTER

A source advised on February 18, 1967, that on that date, during an Executive Board meeting of the Communist Party (CP), Minneapolis, Minnesota, it was announced that Mike Myerson was forming an anti-imperialist center (Tri-Continental Information Center).

8/21/67

SAC LETTER 67-50

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A second source advised on June 30, 1966, that Mike Myerson attended the 18th National Convention of the Communist Party, USA (CPUSA), held in New York City (NYC) from June 22, 1966, to June 26, 1966, as a non-Party visitor from Brooklyn, New York.

A copy of Volume I, Number I, May, 1967, issue of the "Tri-Continental Information Center Bulletin" (TCICB), published by the Tri-Continental Information Center (TCIC), listed Mike Myerson and Joan Levenson as Editors.

A third source advised on March 6, 1967, that Joan Levenson attended a New York County CP "Peace Caucus," held on March 3, 1967, in Academy Hall, 853 Broadway, NYC.

The above-mentioned issue of the TCICB contained an article entitled "Tri-Continental Information Center Founded" which stated in part as follows:

"The Tri-Continental Information Center has been established to raise, through education and information, an anti-imperialist consciousness in the United States--particularly within the growing movements for peace, human rights and democracy.

"The Center has built up contacts and exchange of publications with anti-imperialist organizations and movements throughout the world, and will publish a monthly bulletin on international developments. It will collect and disseminate historical and current data on areas suffering from U. S. colonialism and neo-colonialism. It will publish pamphlets, and in some cases books.

"It will send fact-finding missions to such areas as Indonesia, Puerto Rico, and Thailand and will arrange U. S. tours for speakers from liberation movements around the world. It will also plan conferences to discuss these questions among mass audiences. And it will aid publicity for various international initiatives--conferences, boycotts, petition campaigns or fund drives--to combat and debilitate U. S. foreign policy."

A fourth source advised on May 11, 1967, that the TCIC, which is located in Room 640, 1133 Broadway, NYC, was formed by Mike Myerson and is a CP front organization supported by CP funds.

Sources:



8/21/67

SAC LETTER 67-50

-31-

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Date prepared

Date received

7/24/68

Received from (name or symbol number)

Received by

SA Don Jones

Method of delivery (check appropriate blocks)

☐ in person ☐ by telephone ☒ by mail ☐ orally ☐ recording device ☐ written by Informant

If orally furnished and reduced to writing by Agent:

Date

Dictated _____ to _____

Transcribed _____

Authenticated by Informant _____

Date of Report

Date(s) of activity

June 30, 1968

Brief description of activity or material

Letter to subscribers - "Tri-Continental Information Center" signed by Michael

File where original is located if not attached

100 -

Remarks:

Myerson and Larry Konner

Action: Place Original in 100-59308
Tri-Continental Students

(2) Copies in 100 -
" " 100 -

Michael Myerson
Larry Konner

Copies:

(2)

[Handwritten signature]

100-59308-5

Block Stamp

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FBI - SAN FRANCISCO	

2 repro cc incl 8/13/68

TRI-CONTINENTAL INFORMATION CENTER

1133 Broadway • New York, N.Y. 10010 • Rm. 640 • 212-242-6512

June 30, 1968

Dear Subscriber:

Perhaps you've been wondering why the May issue of our Bulletin got to you in mid-June. Perhaps you've been wondering what happened to our June issue. If we didn't send you this letter you'd be wondering what happened to the July and August issues. And so, in the interest of clearing this matter up, we now present:

WHATEVER HAPPENED TO THE TCIC BULLETIN

a short story by the editors

Back in early May we reached our first birthday. During the past year we have brought you the first US publication of: the proposed US-Panama Defense Treaty; the message from Regis Debray, smuggled out of his prison in Bolivia; the political program of the South Vietnam National Liberation Front; and Frantz Fanon on the death of Lumumba. We had in mind to continue publishing along the same lines. However, we ran into grave financial difficulties. Many people, whose subscriptions expired in May and June, did not renew. Our rent, cost of printing, etc. rose drastically. Rather than do the obvious and curtail our operation, we have decided to expand. We will be publishing a special summer issue in August. This issue will be larger, more colorful, and hopefully more interesting. We cannot do this alone. We need your help. If you have enjoyed reading the Bulletin, and would like to see us continue publishing with a new expanded format, please send us money. We hope this is not

THE END

Sincerely yours,

Michael Myerson
Michael Myerson

Larry Konner
Larry Konner

Director: Michael Myerson

Sponsors (partial list):

Franklin Alexander ★ Donna Allen ★ James S. Allen ★ Herbert Aptheker ★ M. S. Arnoni ★ Rev. Lee H. Ball
Norma Becker ★ Alvah Bessie ★ Carl Bloice ★ Robert S. Browne ★ Ron Clark ★ Ernest DeMaio ★ Ruby Dee
Douglas F. Dowd ★ Frank Emspak ★ Abe Feinglass ★ Robert Fitch ★ Richard Flacks ★ D. F. Fleming
Maxwell Geismar ★ John Gerassi ★ Marvin E. Gettleman ★ Fred Goff ★ Lawrence Goldman ★ Robert Gover
Rev. J. Thomas Lee Hayes ★ Frank Kofsky ★ Sidney Lens ★ Michael Locker ★ Lincoln Lynch ★ John McDermott
Rev. William Howard Melish ★ Jack Mirvis ★ Michael Myerson ★ Tito Nolasco ★ James O'Connor
Sidney M. Peck ★ Benjamin Spock, M.D. ★ Albert Szent-Gyorgyi ★ Rev. Willard Lohr ★ Tessa Weissman

Letter to All Special Agents in Charge
RE: CHARACTERIZATION OF SUBVERSIVE, RACIAL, KLAN,
WHITE HATE, AND MILITANT BLACK ORGANIZATIONS

TRI-CONTINENTAL INFORMATION CENTER

A source advised on February 18, 1967, that on that date, during an Executive Board meeting of the Communist Party (CP), Minneapolis, Minnesota, it was announced that Mike Myerson was forming an anti-imperialist center (Tri-Continental Information Center).

A second source advised on July 13, 1967, that Michael Myerson attended a Communist Party, United States of America (CPUSA), National Committee meeting on June 10-12, 1967, at the Hotel Roosevelt, New York City.

A third source advised on April 18, 1968, that the Tri-Continental Information Center (TCIC) publishes a monthly publication entitled "TCIC Bulletin" (TCICB), which generally contains articles critical of United States foreign policy and accuses the United States of imperialism throughout the world with emphasis placed on Africa and Latin America.

Volume I, Number I, May, 1967, issue of the TCICB contained an article entitled "Tri-Continental Information Center Founded," which stated in part as follows:

"The Tri-Continental Information Center has been established to raise, through education and information, an anti-imperialist consciousness in the United States--- particularly within the growing movements for peace, human rights, and democracy.

"The Center has built up contacts and exchange of publications with anti-imperialist organizations and movements throughout the world, and will publish a monthly bulletin on international developments. It will collect and disseminate historical and current data on areas suffering from U. S. Colonialism and neo-colonialism. It will publish pamphlets, and in some cases books.

"It will send fact-finding missions to such areas as Indonesia, Puerto Rico, and Thailand and will arrange U. S. tours for speakers from liberation movements around the world. It will also plan conferences to discuss these questions among mass audiences. And it will aid publicity for various international

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OCT 9 1968
FBI - SAN FRANCISCO

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Letter to All Special Agents in Charge
RE: CHARACTERIZATION OF SUBVERSIVE, RACIAL, KLAN,
WHITE HATE, AND MILITANT BLACK ORGANIZATIONS

initiatives--conferences, boycotts, petition campaigns, and
fund drives--to combat and debilitate U. S. foreign policy."

The second source advised on May 11, 1967, that the
TCIC, which is located in Room 640, 1133 Broadway, New York City,
was formed by Mike Myerson and is a CP front organization
supported by CP funds.

The third source advised on April 18, 1968, that the
TCIC is currently located at the above-mentioned address.

Sources:

2*

TRI-CONTINENTAL INFORMATION CENTER 100-59308

A source advised on February 18, 1967, that on that date, during an Executive Board meeting of the Communist Party (CP), Minneapolis, Minnesota, it was announced that Mike Myerson was forming an anti-imperialist center (Tri-Continental Information Center).

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9/19/69
SAC LETTER 69-50

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"It will send fact-finding missions to such areas as Indonesia, Puerto Rico and Thailand and will arrange U. S. tours for speakers from liberation movements around the world. It will also plan conferences to discuss these questions among mass audiences. And it will aid publicity for various international initiatives--conferences, boycotts, petition campaigns and fund drives--to combat and debilitate U. S. foreign policy."

The second source advised on May 11, 1967, that the Tri-Continental Information Center, which is located in Room 640, 1133 Broadway, New York City, was formed by Mike Myerson and is a CP front organization supported by CP funds.

As of May 29, 1969, the office of the Tri-Continental Information Center continued to be located in Room 640, 1133 Broadway, New York City.

Sources:

(D) SUBVERSIVE ORGANIZATION CHARACTERIZATION - TRI-CONTINENTAL INFORMATION CENTER -- Set forth below is an up-to-date characterization of the Tri-Continental Information Center which replaces the one in SAC Letter 69-50.

A source advised on February 18, 1967, that it was announced at an Executive Board meeting of the Communist Party of Minneapolis, Minnesota, in 1967, that Mike Myerson was forming an anti-imperialist center. This center became known as the Tri-Continental Information Center (TCIC) and maintained an office in Room 640, 1133 Broadway, New York City.

A second source advised on May 11, 1967, that the TCIC was founded by Mike Myerson, who attended a Communist Party, USA, National Committee meeting in June, 1967, in New York City, as a Communist Party front organization supported by Communist Party funds.

The TCIC was described in Volume I, Number 1, May, 1967, issue of the "Tri-Continental Information Center Bulletin" as an organization established to raise, through education and information, an anti-imperialist consciousness in the United States--particularly within the growing movements for peace, human rights and democracy.

A third source advised on September 26, 1969, the TCIC was considered defunct as of that time.

Sources:



Very truly yours,

John Edgar Hoover

Director

11/18/69
SAC LETTER 69-69

cc: 100 - 00
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- 9 -

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